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CHAPTER I.

Rise of the Principate.

§ 1. Octavian Master of the World.—§ 2. Universal Desire for Peace.—
§ 3. Incapacity of Senate and People to govern.—§ 4. Tendency of
Unconstitutional Commands.—§ 5. Rise and Character of the
Military Despotism.—§ 6. Turbulence and Dependence of the
Populus.—§ 7. Wide Extent of the Empire ; the Need of Centrali-
zation.—§ 8. Evolution of the Principate from Cæsar's Dictator-
ship.—§ 9. Assisted by the Republican Disguise of Augustus's
Government.

§ 1. THE death of Antonius left the government of the Roman world once more in the hands of one man. Sulla and Cæsar had each essayed the task of controlling that empire. The first had shown how inevitably the course of events tended to monarchy ; the second had done something to show how desirable was the change. It remained for Octavian to set the inevitable and the desirable once and for all upon a lasting foundation. He must so far justify his autocracy as to place beyond question the permanency of the monarchy even after his own demise, and stamp out all mistaken conservatism which still dreamed of the restoration of the government of a century before.

§ 2. The desire of the world was for peace. For twenty years the State had been torn by the jealousies of rival

generals, the provinces and vassal States from Gaul to Pontus had been drained of blood and treasure to furnish weapons to combatants in whom they had no personal interest. Cæsar had ousted Pompeius; the assassination of Cæsar had brought into the lists Antonius, Lepidus, Sextus Pompeius, and Octavian; and these had fought to the death for the sole possession of an empire which they would not share, and which was falling into ruins from their very quarrels. The world at large took no interest in any one of the rivals. Senate and people and provincials alike looked on and waited to follow quietly the leader whose sword should prevail. War meant for them only confiscation of their lands to reward hired legionaries, the shedding of their best blood in a struggle which could bring no laurels, the ruin of their fortunes in the universal stagnation of trade and industry. Those who still believed in the ancient Gods saw only the working of a series of crimes—the spilling of brothers' blood—each of which entailed a fresh curse upon themselves and their descendants. Those who had no faith—and they were many—assumed an indifference which was more unsatisfactory and hopeless than disbelief. In the air was a vague prophecy that a peace-maker was about to appear; and when Octavian had proved his right by his might, men saw in him the promised helper and acquiesced gladly in his pre-eminence.

§ 3. Moreover, every cause which had contributed to the assertion of the autocracy of a Sulla or a Cæsar now acted with increased force. That government by the Senate which had conducted Rome gloriously to the close of the Macedonian and Carthaginian wars had sunk by its own momentum into an oligarchic system of jobbery and corruption, and from thence into a system not less corrupt and still more incapable owing to the blow dealt it by the Gracchi. Sulla's efforts at a restoration had owed their only continuance to his presence. After his decease the Senate threw itself desperately upon the mercy of one leader after another, reckless of the fact that those leaders, whom it entrusted with unconstitutional powers,

might and did use their powers less constitutionally still against the donor. Roman politics had become a death-struggle between the Senate and the people for a supremacy which neither knew how to wield. There was no regard now for the honour of Rome abroad, for the well-being of her subjects, for Rome herself. The two parties fought just such another battle as did Antonius, Octavian, and their rivals afterwards—a struggle for rule regardless of the prize which was to be ruled. There were but two ways out of the evil; either the ancient balance of prerogatives must be restored between the Curia and the Comitia, or the jealousies of both must be subordinated to the power of some one master. Even Cæsar's Dictatorship had failed to teach its lesson, and his death found the constitutional government as incapable of harmonious action as before. Once, after his completed triumph, Augustus retired from Rome and handed over to the Senate and people the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges (22—19 B.C.), and they used the opportunity as before when Pompeius had sullenly withdrawn his terrorism and left events to the will of Clodius and Milo. To restore the balance was impossible. It remained only to reduce both Senate and people to one level of dependence.

§ 4. Had the two parties been sufficiently temperate to work out the problem in conformity with law—as the old quarrel of Patricians and Plebeians had once been worked out—some other solution might have been arrived at. But the self-restraint of the early days had passed away. Tiberius Gracchus had set the example of attempting reform by unconstitutional means; and thenceforward both parties used expedients as desperate as illegal to obtain their ends. The favourite expedient was that of raising up a leader backed by an irresistible army. Such a measure had been impossible when the constitutional fetters of time and age were respected. It became easy when those fetters were removed and a Marius, a Pompeius, or a Cæsar received for years in succession the plenary powers of the ancient annual

magistracies ; when even the sacredness of the *pomerium* was no barrier to the entrance of the *paludamentum* and eagles into Rome ; when no citizen of capacity was satisfied with anything short of virtual monarchy. It was not to be expected that those who accepted illegal commands would scruple to use them illegally, or would lay aside at a word the powers to which they owed their virtual sovereignty, and even, perhaps, their personal security.

§ 5. These special commands, as they were still called when their bestowal had long ceased to be special, amounted to nothing less than military despotisms. A victorious general with a multitude of legions at his back, bound to his service, whether by respect or by pay, was, so long as he had no rival, absolute. He might assume the character of a peaceful citizen, but behind him was the unseen hand of his legionaries ready at a moment to strike. The only check upon one such power was the creation of another ; and so the evil went on increasing. The Gabinian, Manilian, and Trebonian laws were all so many attempts to introduce monarchy, in effect at least, though their original proposers may not have foreseen the inevitable result. ' 'Tis no good thing, a multitude of kings,' said Homer ; and long before an adviser of Octavian had altered the saying to justify the execution of a rival,* it had been acted upon by everyone who held a special military command. Government by the sword commenced with Sulla and found its final avowal in the days of Caligula ; but its practice never slept from the days of its first birth. The old patriotism was dead. There was now no citizen-army to fight Rome's battles for Rome's sake. The legions were recruited from Spain and Gaul and Asia, and owned no loyalty beyond what was to be purchased by the highest bidder. They would have rased Rome and transferred the empire to Tarraco, to Narbo, or to Byzantium, without compunction. It was no longer a question of the justice of a cause, but of numbers alone.

* ' 'Tis no good thing, a multitude of Caesars,' was the misquotation which induced Octavian to put to death Caesarion, son of Cleopatra and Caesar, 30 B.C.

§ 6. Behind the Optimates, who championed either Senate or people to further their own ends, was the rabble of Rome—the *populus*—which had long ceased to respect any law but that of force. Since the day when the first blood was shed in a Roman riot, in 131 B.C., there had rarely been any question of moment decided without appeal to open violence. A Clodius or a Milo was the natural outcome of the abuse of democratic liberty; and they had got long since beyond the control of the Senate or the democratic leaders, unless supported by an armed force. Their turbulence was curbed in the early years of the Principate; but it slumbered only, and a fresh outburst led to the establishment of a regular police by Augustus. Even when no election-cry furnished them with a watchword, the rabble were ever ready for a riot about the price of corn. There was no starving this 'many-headed monster thing' into submission; it must be fed to keep it in good humour. So, at least, thought C. Gracchus and his successors in the government; and even Cæsar could find no other mode of action. When Octavian seized the sole power, the masses were already recognised as State-paupers, whose feeding and maintenance and amusement must be the first care of the government, however constituted. A few years later Juvenal spoke of them as happy if they had but 'bread and the circus' games.' Octavian recognised their privileges, and, indeed, made it his especial duty, as did Tiberius after him, to keep the markets well supplied with cheap provisions. Such a policy bankrupted the State, but Augustus did, at least, as much as anyone could do to stave off the evil day; and in any case his measures were attended with a degree of success far beyond anything which could have been attained by the efforts of an incapable, improvident, and divided Senate.

§ 7. If the Senate had been found incapable of maintaining order and sufficiency at home, the state of the provinces was far worse. From end to end of the empire the governors plundered and extorted, and drained their provinces not only of their produce for the present but of their reserves for the future. No justice could be

obtained; for if a verdict were given in favour of the victims it was rarely enforced, and never in such a way as to recoup the plundered parties. Lands lay idle, roads went to ruin, and trade stagnated. In time of war the evil was still worse. What the governors and *publicani* had left was destroyed by soldiery billeted at free quarters everywhere. Even if peace had prevailed and justice had been enforced, it would have been a formidable task for the Senate in its best days to cope with so vast a mass of work as was implied by their huge empire of 30 B.C. It needed one mind and one hand to guide and curb that empire—a mind which could see that in the welfare of its subjects lay the welfare of the empire, and a hand which had no rival to stay its sure action. The weakness of senatorian government is always the presence of an opposition. Under a Cæsar there could be no such weakness, for his will was law to all and was obeyed forthwith, for it was upheld by the swords of the world. No doubt the affairs of the empire were too great for one to manage in the best way; but what it could see to be requisite the monarchy could execute without failure, and its vision was the clearer in that it was not distracted by partisanship and jealousies. There may have been cases when the governors still plundered; there may still have been some to regret the old Republic. But the good results of the Principate to the provincials at least far exceeded its failings; and while many of them pleaded to be made Imperial provinces, none ever made the opposite request—to be transferred from the *Principes'* rule to that of the Senate.

§ 8. Such were some of the more crying reasons which made necessary the establishment of the Principate. Its establishment was rendered possible by the events of the previous century, which had slowly but surely prepared the Romans and their subjects for the change. The world was all but ripe for it when Julius seized the *tyrannis*. The fall of Julius with its attendant years of confusion and bloodshed, and its idle vaunt of liberty restored, completed the preparation. The Principate of Augustus was evolved naturally out of the Dictatorship

of Julius. It was no new thing. It could even appeal, if need were, to that Dictatorship as a precedent, and there were few points in which the precedent was wanting. Julius was the architect, Augustus the builder; and if the latter in one or two details altered the designer's theory to suit actual facts, he did no more than every builder does when occasion arises. There will be found later on (Chapter V.) a list of the main features borrowed by Augustus from his forerunner.

§ 9. The Julian Dictatorship fell because it concealed too slightly its absolutism. The self-control of Julius tottered when it had reached its highest goal, and he allowed himself to appear as monarch in name, not in fact alone. The Romans would still struggle for an idea, though they were ready to acquiesce in its outward realization; so the tyrannicides veiled their crime under the plea of Brutus and his colleagues in 510 B.C. Augustus was more wary. To the last he spoke of the State as a Republic still, in which he was merely the high-steward of the traditional Senate and Comitia. He respected the idea which Julius trampled upon, and he was therefore left free to bind more securely year by year the fetters which he never named. It was said that he debated more than once about retiring from his post. The story only proves how well he could disguise his firm grasp of the monarchy, and cloak with the 'civilian air' his most unconstitutional proceedings.

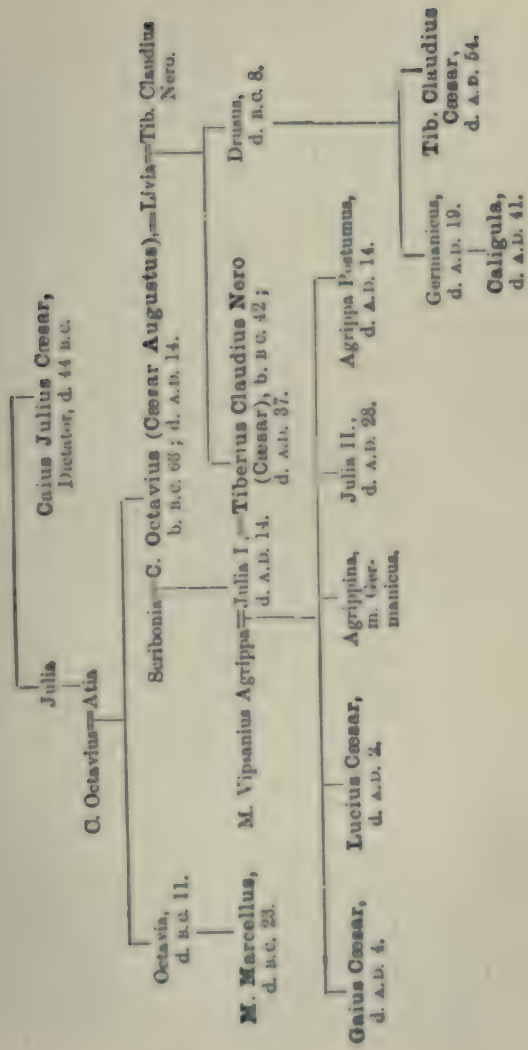
CHAPTER II.

30-23 B.C.

§ 1. Temporary Settlement of the Affairs of Asia and the East.—§ 2. Return of Octavian to Rome. Honours paid him. The Title of *Imperator*.—§ 3. The Censorship and *Censoria Potestas*.—§ 4. His Munificence.—§ 5. He offers to lay down the *Imperium*, and receives the *Imperium Proconsulare* for Ten Years.—§ 6. The Title of Augustus.—§ 7. *Princeps Senatus*, *Princeps*, and *Pater Patriæ*.—§ 8. The Dacian War.—§ 9. Augustus in Spain.—§ 10. Final Subjugation of the Cantabri, etc.—§ 11. The Provinces of Africa and Galatia.—§ 12. Disgrace of Cornelius Gallus.—§ 13. The Arabian War.—§ 14. Illness of Augustus. Confirmation of the *Potestas Tribunitia*, *Proconsulare Imperium*, and bestowal of the Right of *Relatio*.—§ 15. Death of Marcellus.

§ 1. AFTER the battle of Actium and the flight of Antonius to Egypt, Octavian, having disbanded the greater part of his forces, crossed over to Asia Minor. From the Ægean to the rivers Phasis and Euphrates, from the Euxine to the Red Sea, the whole vast area had been brought under the suzerainty of Rome either directly or indirectly by the victories of Pompeius. That general had constituted the provinces of Asia and Cilicia, while leaving the remainder of his conquests under the control of native princes of his own choice. From that date no alteration had been made in the Pompeian arrangement, and Octavian for the present left things as he found them. Few of the native princes had at heart identified themselves with the cause of Antonius; many had been in secret correspondence with Octavian before the overthrow of his rival. It was therefore the safer course to leave them in possession of their sovereignties until more press-

Genealogical Table.



ing matters had been dealt with. Cilicia and Asia remained as before, with the exception that a portion of the former province was handed over to Archelaus, client-Prince of Cappadocia. The cities of Lycia were left in the enjoyment of their own laws and liberties. Polemo, King of Pontus, Deiotarus, King of Paphlagonia, and Amyntas, King of Galatia, were confirmed in their kingdoms. Rhodes and Caria continued independent. Beyond the boundaries of Pontus and Cappadocia, the wide kingdoms of Armenia and Media were held in check by the imminence of the Parthian monarchy still further to the eastward, which threatened continually to reduce its weaker neighbours to vassalage or even dependence. The throne of Parthia was now occupied by Phraates, who, having been once expelled by Tiridates, had again recovered his position. The rivals both waited upon Octavian in Asia to sue for his support. Unwilling to involve himself so soon in a war with the conquerors of Crassus, he left Phraates in possession of his sceptre. He took hostage, however, for his good conduct in the person of his son, and allowed Tiridates to reside in the province of Asia without molestation. Herod of Judæa, one of the most formidable of Antonius's recent allies, was rewarded for the instant transfer of his allegiance to Octavian by the gift of the territories of Samaria, Gaza and Joppa. Egypt was taken away from the Ptolemies and constituted a Roman dependency under an equestrian prefect, Cornelius Gallus. Cæsarion, reputed the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, was put to death, as was Cassius Parmensis, the last of the tyrannicides.

§ 2. In the summer of 29 B.C. Octavian returned to Rome and enjoyed his triple triumph. The Roman world lay quiet at his feet, waiting to see the course he would pursue. The one desire of all, save, indeed, the legions whose occupation was war, was for peace, and the new ruler gratified that desire by the moderation of his conduct, and by the public ceremony of closing the gates of the Temple of Janus for the third time since the foundation of the temple. There still lingered, indeed, petty wars on the frontiers of Gaul and in Spain; but

these were not deemed of sufficient importance to delay the official declaration of *Pax Romana*—the peaceful attitude of the known world towards Rome. Honours were heaped upon the conqueror of Actium. While yet in Asia he had been presented with the privilege of wearing the insignia of triumph—the scarlet robe and laurel-wreath—on all public occasions. Quinquennial games were instituted in his honour at home and in the provinces; his name was inserted in the prayers for the safety of the Senate and people; his birthday was celebrated with sacrifices; and in the cities of Asia and Greece religious honours were paid to him. A new body of Vestals of Augustus was soon after instituted; and within a few years Horace could speak of the name of Octavian himself as associated with those of the Gods—at least, in private prayer—throughout Italy itself. There is an idle story that at this juncture Octavian debated seriously with his ministers, Agrippa and Maecenas, who had acted as his representatives at Rome during his stay in Asia and Egypt, whether he should resign his power and become once more a civilian. He had never entertained any such idea. He had, indeed, laid aside the title of Triumvir now that it had no longer any meaning; but he was still consul and possessed of tribunitian authority, and his sole aim was, by apparent deference to the old constitutional formulæ, to draw on the Senate to spontaneously offering him the confirmation of the powers which he actually possessed. The symbol and instrument of those powers was the army; and accordingly the first act of the Senate was to decree to Octavian the title of Imperator. Julius had borne the title after his name; his descendant took it as a species of cognomen to precede his Gentile name and prænomen, though these henceforth disappear. Octavian henceforth was *Imperator Caesar Julii filius*. By this act the Senate put into his hands for life the entire control of the legions, and laid down voluntarily that exercise of military control which it had usurped from the *populus* in early times, and which it had maintained by means of its consuls and other officers, until the latter showed they needed no

sanction of the Senate to wield the swords of the legions at their pleasure.

§ 3. About the same time he received the powers without the title of the censorship. As consul, he could not be actually censor according to the old constitution; but Julius had set the example of dissociating a title from its powers, and Octavian could seem to follow a recognised precedent in imitating him. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to revise the *Album Senatorium*, rejecting unworthy members who had crept into it during the troubles of the past twenty years, and in every way endeavouring to restore the ancient prestige of the Senate, in direct contradiction to the conduct of Julius, who had, as the champion of the Marians and the democracy, done his best to degrade the assembly of the Optimates and Sullans. In the year 28 B.C. Octavian used this new authority to make a census of the Roman world—an act repeated in the years 8 B.C. and 14 A.D.; and he revised also the *Album Judicum*—the list of persons qualified to serve as jurors, and the *Decurie Equitum*—those of equestrian rank liable to the same duties.

§ 4. Meanwhile, to cloak his gradual assumption of the supreme power, he indulged all ranks with largesses. The battle of Actium had yielded no spoils, for all had perished in the burning of Antonius' fleet, or had been carried away in the flight of the Egyptian squadrons, and the legionaries had been disbanded unrewarded. To restore their good-humour, the victor now presented each with 1,000 sesterces—representing a sum of 120,000,000 sesterces—for which the recent spoils of Alexandria gave him enough and to spare. The civil wars had disturbed all the commercial and financial business of the State. To relieve the distress so caused, a largess of 400 sesterces apiece was given to every citizen, children and adults alike. The higher ranks were gratified by appointment to lucrative or illustrious offices. All alike shared in the festivities and shows which accompanied and followed Octavian's triumph. The public distribution of corn was continued on a more lavish scale than ever; arrears due to the public chest were remitted, and the deficit supplied

from the Emperor's private purse; such senatorial families as had sunk into poverty were once more rehabilitated by munificent grants; and throughout the city the historic monuments were beautified and restored, and public works were undertaken on the most lavish scale, chief amongst which was the famous Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, with its museum and magnificent library, in which to have his bust set up, crowned with the bay-wreath, was the summit of the ambition of the *littérateur* of the time.

§ 5. The State was in the full glow of the enthusiasm and gratitude purchased by these indulgences, when, on January 1, 27 B.C., Caesar declared in the Senate that his work was done, and that he would now lay down his *imperium*. The Senate, restored to dignity and peace, was able, he said, to manage the State for itself as of old. But, as he probably foresaw, the offer was greeted with an outburst of dissent. Whether carried away by the feelings of the moment, or earnestly convinced of the advisability of what they did, the senators declared Caesar possessed of the *proconsulare imperium* for a space of ten years more. He declined to receive it for life; for such an act would have savoured too much of the perpetual dictatorship, for which Julius had paid the price of his life. Neither would he receive it as valid over the whole Roman world. He handed over to the separate government of the Senate the more peaceful provinces, and retained only such as needed the control of a military force, which he maintained himself in virtue of his *imperium*. From this year dates the regular Principate—the joint government of the Emperor and the restored Republican Senate.

§ 6. Some weeks later the Senate bestowed upon him the title of Augustus, by which he has ever since been known. Heretofore the name had been applied to no mortal, but only to the festivals and temples of the Gods. By it he acquired something of the awe which still lingered in the mind of the Romans about the Gods of a decayed religion, and it fitted in with the semi-deification already

accorded to him by his association with the Gods in the State ritual.

§ 7. After the revision of the *Album Senatorium*, in 28 B.C., Augustus, himself of course a senator, received the title of *Princeps Senatus*, or Head of the House. The title had been in abeyance since the death of Catulus. It implied no special duties or powers, but was merely a complimentary designation of the most illustrious member of the 'Assembly of Kings.' Different from it was the name of *Princeps*, which came to be the Roman equivalent for our word Emperor. It was not of official origin, and did not convey the expression of any formal compliment. It merely described Cæsar as *primus inter pares*, the leading citizen amongst the whole citizen body. One other title, that of *Pater Patriæ*, was conferred upon him in the year 2 B.C. by the acclamation of the Senate; but this also was an informal one, ratified by no decree, and was used only as a term of studied flattery. It was the name by which another 'saviour of the State' had been hailed, Cicero, when he had suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline, 63 B.C.

§ 8. Secure now in the constitutional sanction which guaranteed all his manifold powers, Augustus turned his attention to reducing the western provinces and frontiers to the same peaceful condition as that which prevailed in the east. The mountain tribes on the north and south slopes of the Pyrenees were still in arms, and accordingly in 27 B.C. he left the city to superintend in person the pacification of Gaul and Spain. Before his departure occurred two triumphs. The first was that of M. Crassus, grandson of the triumvir, who had taken up in 29 B.C. the Dacian war of which Julius had dreamed. The Daci were a warlike tribe on either bank of the Lower Danube, whose forays southward and westward upon Macedonia and Delmatia had long insulted Rome and disturbed the tranquillity of those provinces. Their prince, Cotiso, the successor of Boërebistas, had even designed the invasion of Italy in conjunction with Antonius. Crassus defeated them together with the Bastarnæ, and slew Delto, prince of the latter tribe. In the following

year (28 B.C.) the Bastarnæ returned to the struggle, but were again defeated, and the Roman rule was now extended to the Danube. The second triumph was that of M. Valerius Messalla, who had been engaged for two years (28, 27 B.C.) in chastising the Aquitani; he at last defeated them in a pitched battle near Narbonne, and reduced the malcontents to submission.

§ 9. This latter triumph relieved Augustus of part of his intended labours. Nevertheless he passed into Gaul with a large force, detaching as he went A. Terentius Varro to chastise the irrepressible mountaineers of the Alps. At Narbo he held a *conventus*, or synod of all the states of Southern Gaul, and there commenced that organization which speedily reduced the conquest of Julius to one of the most tractable parts of the empire. His work was interrupted by the need of action against the Cantabri and Astures, mountain tribes of the north-western angle of the peninsula. The war which followed brought little glory. The Spaniards avoided pitched battle, and carried on then, as usually, a guerilla struggle which lasted for eight years. The fatigues of his campaign soon told on Augustus, who retired an invalid to Tarraco, now the capital of all the Spains, and left his lieutenants, C. Antistius and T. Carrisius, to carry on the war (25 B.C.). The Cantabri submitted ostensibly at the close of the year, and the military colonies of Bracara (*Braga*), Asturica (*Astorga*), Lucus Augusti (*Lugo*), and Emerita (*Merida*), were founded to maintain the submission of the northern and western coasts. About the same time Terentius Varro almost exterminated the Salassi of the Pennine Alps, and secured his conquest—the first step towards a scientific frontier to Italy—by the foundation of Augusta Prætoria (*Aosta*).

§ 10. How insecure was the pacification of the Spanish tribes was shown by their revolting again immediately upon the return of Augustus to Rome (24 B.C.). In a short campaign Agrippa once more reduced them; but again in 22 B.C. they took up arms against the oppressions of Carrisius, the pro-prætor. Attacking three Roman armies at once, they were only prevented by treachery

amongst themselves from anticipating the Varian disaster. Carrisius and Furnius at length penetrated to the very heart of their fastnesses, and the latter officer, shutting up the remnant of their numbers within a circumvallation fifteen miles in length, compelled to surrender all such as did not, like the Numantians, destroy themselves. Still the conquest was not complete. In 19 B.C. some of the survivors of the victory of Furnius raised a final revolt of a more stubborn and sanguinary character than ever. Agrippa, a second time commissioned to the war, could only induce his men to face their desperate enemies by the severest punishments. He succeeded at length in completing a conquest which had begun nearly 200 years before by transferring the last of the Cantabri and Astures to the lowlands, and so depriving them of their strongest means of resistance. They speedily lost their independent spirit, and fifty years later Spain was the most Roman of all the provinces, and furnished a list of literary celebrities far exceeding in brilliancy those of any other part of the Roman world, Italy not excepted. Lucan, Seneca, Columella, Mela, Quintilian, and Martial, were all natives of the Spanish peninsula.

§ 11. Two other additions were made to the empire in the year 25 B.C.—the kingdom of Mauretania and that of Galatia. The province of Africa, constituted at the close of the third Punic war (146 B.C.), bordered on Numidia, which was made a province by Julius after the battle of Thapsus as a punishment to its chief, Juba, for his partisanship with the Pompeians. Between Numidia and the Atlantic stretched Mauretania, the kingdom of Boecchus, a staunch Cæsarian. He died in 32 B.C., and two years later Juba, son of the late chief of Numidia, was appointed as suzerain of his native country. Lastly, in 25 B.C., he was made king of Mauretania, including the western portion of Numidia, while the eastern portion from the town of Saldæ was incorporated with Africa Proper. Juba had been educated at Rome, and he remained a faithful ally of his patron. The continent of Africa gave the Cæsars less trouble than any other of their wide dependencies, and was garrisoned by a single

legion. Galatia had remained under the rule of Amyntas until his death, 25 B.C. It now became a province, enlarged by the addition of Pamphylia and Lycaonia, at the expense of the older province of Cilicia. At the end of the year the gates of Janus were again closed, the assumed *Pax Romana* of four years before being now a reality throughout the world of Roman influence.

§ 12. They were soon thrown open again, but the scene of war was now changed from the West to the far East, to Egypt and Arabia. The first prefect of Egypt, Cornelius Gallus, a man of equestrian rank and the most graceful writer of elegiacs of his day, had allowed his exalted position to lead him to indiscretions. Statues had been set up in his honour and his name inscribed upon the eternal monuments of Egypt, and his Roman arrogance had even led to serious riots in Alexandria, always a turbulent and unruly city. These failings, in themselves slight enough, derived an especial importance from the jealousy with which Augustus regarded Egypt, whose riches were sufficient to supply ample funds to any disaffected leader, whose position between sands and seas was exceptionally strong, and whose supplies of corn fed the city which their interruption would reduce to famine. The Senate learnt the ill-will with which Augustus regarded his prefect, and one of them indicted Gallus, still absent, for arrogance. The charge was readily believed by the obsequious senators, and its object was ordered to return to Rome. His reception by the Emperor was too chilling to be mistaken. Gallus was disgraced, and, to avoid further and more positive punishment, he committed suicide, 26 B.C.

§ 13. He was succeeded by C. Petronius; and in the year 24 B.C., Aelius Gallus, a subordinate officer, was entrusted with the command of a legion to act in Arabia. Ever since the occupation of Judæa by the Romans, the Nabathæi, who dwelt to the east and south of Palestine, from Damascus on the north to far down the shore of the Red Sea, had been a vassal state. Beyond them, occupying the whole of the southern portions of the Arabian peninsula, lay the Arabians proper. Their nearest tribes

were those of Sabæa, or Arabia Felix (*Yemen*), split up into small states under petty chieftains. The stories of the wealth of Sabæa were no myth. It was the land of gems and drugs and spices, and through it passed the treasures of India on their way to the Western lands. In old days that commerce had passed through Southern Egypt; now the Egyptian trade was at a standstill, and it was to restore if possible the old route of traffic, as well as to obtain possession of the spice-lands, that Augustus departed from his fixed policy of consolidating what he possessed, and for once took up an aggressive war. But the effort was a failure. Ignorance caused needless risks in the passage by sea southward to Leuce Come (*Haura*); and when the army at last struck into the centre of Arabia under the guide of Syllæus, an officer of Obodas, King of Nabathæa, it was decimated by sickness. It did indeed reach Mariaba, the capital of a Sabæan tribe, but it retired without having entered that town, and returned to Egypt without laurels or reward, and Augustus refrained for the present from any further action in this direction.

§ 14. In 23 B.C., now consul for the eleventh time,* the Emperor was seized with violent illness. His life was despaired of, and men began to speculate upon his successor. Some named Marcellus, some Agrippa; but Augustus recovered, and his recovery was hailed as a relief. He celebrated his restoration to health by a lavish *frumentatio* and laid down the consulship, which he only resumed on two other occasions, B.C. 5 and 2, and then only for a few days. In return the Senate decreed him anew that *proconsulare imperium* which he already possessed, and in some way extended or confirmed his title to the *tribunitia potestas*, which he accordingly dates from this year. It decreed him also the right of *relatio*† in the Senate on all occasions, a step which relieved them of the awkward possibility of moving anything contrary to the wishes of the Princeps.

§ 15. Whom Augustus had really intended to name as

* He held the Consulship during the eight successive years from 30 to 23 B.C.

† *Relatio* is the right to bring forward a motion for debate in the Senate, which was vested constitutionally in the consuls for the year alone.

his successor no one ever knew, but the hopes of most were centred in Marcellus, the son of Octavia, scarcely less for his own fair promise than for the admiration which all bore towards his mother. He was high in favour with the Emperor—too high to please Agrippa—and had been in this very year freed from the obligations of the *Lex Cornelia Annalis*, and invested with the office of aedile, though only twenty years of age. Two years before (25 B.C.) he had been married, young as he was, to Julia, daughter of Augustus. His connections, his popularity, and his character marked him out as the probable heir to the principate. 'Brief and unfortunate were the loves of the Romans.' He sickened and died only a few weeks after the recovery of his uncle. His funeral was splendidly furnished, and the grief of Emperor and people alike was poignant. Vergil, the Court poet, spoke of him in the '*Æneid*'* in words whose recitation drew tears from their auditors, and brought royal gifts upon their author. His death stayed for awhile the jealousy of Agrippa, but left the question of succession still open, still a field for intrigue and heartburnings.

* '*Æneid*' vi., 861, *seq.*

CHAPTER III.

23-9 B.C.

§ 1. *Æthiopian War.*—§ 2. Conspiracy of Cæpio and Muræna.—§ 3. Augustus declines the Dictatorship and Perpetual Censorship. The *Curatores Annonæ*.—§ 4. He goes to Asia and regulates the Affairs of Parthia.—§ 5. Troubles during his Absence. Conspiracy of Ignatius Rufus.—§ 6. Augustus returns and accepts the *Potestas Consularis* and the Censorship for five years.—§ 7. Advancement of Agrippa; his Mission to Asia.—§ 8. The *Præfectura Urbis*.—§ 9. Proceedings of Agrippa in Asia.—§ 10. Second Visit of Augustus to Gaul.—§ 11. Disaster of Lollius.—§ 12. Campaign of Tiberius and Drusus in Rhætia. The Frontier Fortresses and *Agri Incultæ*.—§ 13. Death of Agrippa, and (§ 14) of Lepidus.—§ 15. The German Peoples.—§ 16. First and Second Campaigns of Drusus in Germany, and of Tiberius in Pannonia.—§ 17. Further Campaigns of Tiberius in Pannonia. Reduction of the Thracians by Piso. Third and Fourth Campaigns of Drusus in Germany. His Death.

§ 1. ABOUT the time when Ælius Gallus was busied so fruitlessly in Arabia, his superior officer, C. Petronius, was acting on the southern frontier of Egypt against the Æthiopians. That people, accustomed to making raids upon the upper valley of the Nile during the time of the Ptolemies, continued their forays even when the stronger government of Rome was established in Egypt. The limits of the Roman prefecture were situated some little distance south of Syene (*Assuân*), near the Lesser Cataracts, but there was no natural or scientific frontier, and while the Æthiopians found it easy to make incursions into the cultivated lands on the Roman side, the Romans on the other hand met with small success in their attempts to follow the fugitives. Still, Petronius managed to obtain one or two successes, and the Æthiopian Queen Candace

at length offered terms in the year 23 B.C. The prefect imposed a tribute upon her; but resenting this, she sent envoys to Augustus, who remitted the impost, content to have so inaccessible a people brought to an amicable and equable peace.

§ 2. Successful as he uniformly was as an administrator, and despite the civilian bearing of the Princeps, there yet remained some sparks of the old republicanism. Men could not altogether forget in thirty years the traditions of their ancient liberties, and a few, perhaps, hated Augustus, as others had hated Aristides, for his very merits. In the year subsequent to his retirement from the Consulate, the Emperor was made painfully aware of his isolation. Two distinguished Romans, Pannius Cæpio and Licinius Murena, plotted against his life. Of the details and ramifications of the conspiracy we have no knowledge; it was most probably little more than the scheming of a few fanatical republicans or disappointed self-seekers who dreamed of repeating the tragedy of Brutus and Cassius. The plot was discovered and its leaders fled to escape worse punishment, and nothing came of their schemes but additional sympathy between the people and their patron.

§ 3. The position of the Emperor was, in fact, extremely critical at the moment. By resigning the consulship he had placed himself virtually in the power of the Senate, whose officers, the consuls, constitutionally possessed the highest authority in the State, with which the powers of the Emperor, legitimately conferred indeed, but in themselves illegal, might at any moment come into collision. The consul owned but one superior, the dictator; and the friends or enemies of Augustus urged him to accept the dictatorship for life which they now offered him. His friends might see in it a real security against a senatorial reaction. His enemies—and the recent conspiracy showed that he *had* enemies—saw, with more sinister insight, that it would put the possessor *ipso facto* in the position to which Julius owed his death. Augustus was wiser than his friends. He absolutely declined the office, as well as that of the perpetual censorship, con-

tenting himself with appointing two censors, the last citizens to hold that high dignity (23 B.C.). He was finally pressed to accept the perpetual consulship, and refused once more. But the cry for a dictator had come also loudly from the poorer classes, who, trained to gather their bread from Caesar's largess, resented as an insult the inevitable fluctuation in the price of provisions. To meet this cry he appointed two *curatores annonæ*, superintendents of the market, men of prætorian rank, whose duty it was to watch the rates of sale and to guard against fluctuations of price as far as might be.

§ 4. But the problem of the legitimate combination of his own rule with that of the Senate in the old republican forms was still unsolved. Augustus now played a bold card. He left Rome, and trusted to events to work out for him the solution he desired. The affairs of Asia were still unsatisfactory, particularly in regard to the Parthians, from whom envoys had reached Rome in the previous year. On their representations, and more, perhaps, to console Agrippa in some measure for the manifest preference then enjoyed with the Emperor by the young Marcellus, Agrippa had been commissioned in the early part of 23 B.C. with the settlement of the Eastern States, and had at once fixed his residence at Mitylene in Lesbos, carrying on his duties by means of legates. Thither Augustus also now proceeded, handing over the State entirely to the control of its constitutional governors, the Senate and consuls.

The presence of the Parthian envoys in Rome had been due to the continued intrigues of Tiridates, whom, as has been said, Augustus had, in 30 B.C., permitted to reside in Asia. Torn by internal dissensions, the rival claimants appealed again to the Emperor, and the latter decided once more in favour of the reigning prince, Phraates, exacting, however, as the price of his support the restoration of the standards captured from Crassus on the field of Carrhæ. Phraates complied, and did homage for his crown, awed by the presence of Tiberius, the future Princeps, with a large force in Armenia. He had marched thither to place Tigranes upon the throne left

vacant by the murder of Artaxias, his brother, the son of Artavasdes. Artaxias himself had been alternately a vassal of Parthia and Rome. The establishment of Tigranes set up against the possible hostility of Parthia a sovereign who owed his crown, and therefore his safety, to Rome, and so secured the Euphrates frontier. The successes of Augustus here were further heightened by the arrival of honorary embassies from Pandion and Porus, kings of the Punjab, and from Scythia, bringing presents of the treasures of the far East (20 B.C.).

§ 5. At Rome, meantime, as Augustus had foreseen, events were working out the solution of his problem. The consular elections of 20 B.C. had been attended with violent riots, and the tribes refused to return more than one consul, leaving the other place vacant for Augustus, despite his reiterated refusal to accept it. Moreover, ever since the retirement of Augustus from that office, prodigies and portents had alarmed the people, pestilence had swept over the city, and an inundation of the Tiber had wrought a more material ruin. Superstitious fears seized the populace, who clamoured for their patron and protector, the favourite of heaven, to resume a share in the chief magistracy. He replied only by sending Agrippa again to administer the city. The latter's efforts were in a measure successful; but, on his being summoned to Gaul and Spain to suppress some disorders there, the rioting broke out afresh, and the election of consuls for the year 19 B.C. was attended even with bloodshed. Sentius Saturninus, the single consul returned, was attacked by the partisans of Egnatius Rufus, who claimed the vacant consulate. The Senate, quite unable, as of old in the time of Clodius, to restrain the turbulence of the city, declared that State in danger and commissioned Sentius in the old republican formula, *valere ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet*. The consul dared not accept the task, for to do so would be to incur, however unwillingly, the inevitable jealousy of the absent Princeps. Agrippa was still busy chastising the Cantabrians and Astates. In despair, a final embassy was sent to Augustus entreating him to return and allay the troubles,

as he alone could. He was satisfied. He had given to the Romans ample opportunity to prove that they were capable of governing themselves, and they had not only failed to prove it, but had confessed their failure. The Emperor returned to his post with renewed acclamations, and with authority stronger than ever.

§ 6. This access of moral strength was formally ratified by the Senate at the beginning of the year 18 B.C., when it renewed for five years the *proconsulare imperium*, and bestowed in addition the *Censoria potestas* for five years. But more than this, Augustus now attained what he wished to place him on a level even in law with the annual consuls—the *Consularis potestas*, or all powers, privileges, and insignia of a consul apart from actual tenure of that office. He had thus acquired the senatorial and popular sanction for a supremacy fully as great as that which Julius possessed in his dictatorship. The *proconsulare imperium*, albeit by special *privilegium* made authoritative within the *pomerium*, had nevertheless been an insufficient authority for one who was in fact autocrat, for it took its name from a subordinate office. The *Consulare imperium* was named from the highest regular magistrate, and endowed its possessor with every power belonging to the heads of the old republic, with the invaluable addition of a permanency actual if not theoretical, and not terminable by years. Henceforth the list of Augustus's powers is practically complete (see, however, § 14), and no further mention need be made of them save to mark the periods when one or other power was formally renewed or prolonged.

§ 7. The death of Marcellus had once more left Agrippa very near to the throne, and his claims on the score of faithful services were augmented in 21 B.C. by the claim of relationship, for in that year he received in marriage Julia, the widow of Marcellus. He returned from Spain towards the close of 19 B.C., and when Augustus's tenure of the *Tribunitia potestas* was shortly after confirmed, Agrippa was associated in it for a term of five years, as also in the censorship. The latter was less a favour than a skilful method of turning upon another's shoulders the

odium which was incurred by the Princeps in a new revision of the Senate. But the hopes of Agrippa received another rebuff when, in 17 B.C., Augustus publicly adopted his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia. In the same year the disappointed father received the duty of administering the East for five years and retired thither with his wife.

§ 8. In this year were celebrated for the fifth time in the annals of Rome the *Ludi Sæculares*, an ancient festival of Etruscan origin, supposed to recur at intervals of 100 or 110 years. Their previous recurrence had been of no particular magnificence. Augustus seized the opportunity to celebrate them with unusual grandeur and so put the seal upon all he had done for Rome, at the close of the 737th year of her history. Horace wrote for the occasion the *Carmen Sæculare*.

§ 9. Agrippa found little of real import to exercise him in Asia. The main event of his mission there was a visit to Herod, now the most sedulous of flatterers, under whose directions rose Casarea as a delicate compliment to his liege lord. The Jews received numerous marks of respect from Agrippa, notably the privilege of exemption from service in the Roman armies; and in return, when in 14 B.C. Agrippa moved from the kingdom of the Bosphorus to expel an upstart calling himself Scribonius, and claiming to be a descendant of the great Mithridates, Herod brought up a large force to his assistance. Scribonius was rejected by his own subjects, and his kingdom was given to Polemo, King of Pontus, as a fief of Rome. In 13 B.C. Agrippa returned to Italy, at the same time as did Augustus, after a three years' absence in Gaul.

§ 10. That absence had been necessitated by the disturbed state of the Germans beyond the Rhine frontier, as well as of the renewed hostility of the Alpine tribes. It became absolutely necessary to establish once and for all a firm and tenable frontier line from the Lacus Flevo (*Zuyder Zee*) to the Lower Danube. Foreign aggressions were made the more formidable by the extortions of Lælius, the procurator of Gaul, who plundered the subject peoples with a diligence worthy of the closing

years of the old republic. His name—he was a mere freed man, a Gaul himself by birth—became a by-word for upstart arrogance, and for once Augustus, we are told (but the story may be a pure fabrication), was bribed into connivance. Licinus escaped unpunished by means of the treasures his extortions had collected, though in other ways the presence of Augustus, who applied himself diligently to organizing afresh the internal and frontier condition of the province, was productive of the most permanent results.

§ 11. The actual cause of his leaving Rome on this third occasion was the defeat of Lollius, *Legatus Cæsaris* on the Lower Rhine. The German tribes of the Usipetes and Sugambri, who occupied the northern district of Westphalia about the river Luppia (*Lippe*), had crossed the Rhine and endeavoured to establish themselves on the Gallic side. They overthrew Lollius and even captured the eagle of the fifth legion, but hearing of the instant arrival of Augustus in person with large forces, they retired and sent hostages as security for their good behaviour in future.

§ 12. But along the whole line, from the Lippe to the mouth of the Danube, the northern tribes were in revolt. Rætia, Noricum, Vindelicia, Pannonia, Delmatia, and Mœsia were all in disorder. The country about the head waters of the Rhine and Danube (the modern Württemberg, Engadine, and Tyrol), was difficult of access, and filled with warlike tribes, whose position broke asunder the otherwise continuous frontier naturally offered by those two great rivers. To remove this flaw in his defences Augustus now despatched both Tiberius, who had accompanied him into Gaul, and Drusus, who was in command on the eastern side in Delmatia. The two brothers made their attack simultaneously from east and west, defeated the Rhæti, Brenni, and Genauni, and subjugated the whole of Vindelicia in a single campaign,* 15 B.C. Augusta Vindelicorum was founded to maintain the conquest (now *Augsburg*). At the same time was completed

* They had already been in a measure chastised by P. Silius in the previous year.

the line of fortresses, fifty in number, which remain to this day the military positions on the Rhine. Basel, Strasburg, Mainz, Bingen, Bonn, Nimeguen and Leyden all date from this period. Eastward the frontier was marked by the modern towns of Passau, Linz, Vienna, and Hainsburg (near Pressburg), and so followed the course of the Danube to the semi-subject peoples of modern Bulgaria. The dangers to be apprehended formerly from the insecurity of the mountain region about Lake Constance were now obviated by the spontaneous inroad of many Roman colonists into the modern Württemberg. They paid a tithe of their produce voluntarily to Rome, and hence the name of *Agri Decumates* was applied to their territory, which, lying in the rear of the recently conquered tribes, effectually kept them in check. The revolt of Delmatia and Pannonia was suppressed in the year 14 B.C., and when Augustus, Tiberius, and Agrippa were all once more assembled in Rome at the close of 13 B.C. the empire was again at peace.

§ 13. It was a peace of short duration. In 12 B.C. Agrippa had to hurry to Pannonia to repeat the chastisement of two years before. He succeeded in a brief campaign; but on the way home he sickened and died. He was buried with all pomp at Rome; Augustus himself pronounced over the bier of his ablest minister the funeral panegyric (*laudatio*).

§ 14. In the same year died Lepidus the Triumvir, who had lived unnoticed since his banishment to Circæi (36 B.C.). His death left vacant the office of Pontifex Maximus, which Augustus forthwith assumed, and so completed the circle of his supremacy in matters civil, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical.

§ 15. This and the three following years are filled by the campaigns of Tiberius, who succeeded Agrippa, in Pannonia, and of Drusus beyond the Rhine. The former were carried out consistently with Augustus' policy of consolidating what he already possessed, and repeated revolts showed that the reduction of Delmatia and Pannonia was far from perfect. The campaigns of Drusus, on the other hand, were aggressive, and so far incon-

sistent with that policy. Nevertheless, it was advisable that the German tribes should be taught that even the Rhine offered no insuperable barrier to the ever-victorious legions. The main tribes to be chastised were the Chauci on the shores of the Baltic; the Cherusci about the Ems (Amisia) and Weser (Visurgis); the Usipetes and Sugambri already mentioned, with the adjacent tribe of the Tenchtheri; and further south the Chatti, who extended from the Rhine to the Hercynian forest—the heart of Germany.

§ 16. In 12 B.C. Drusus crossed the Rhine and raided the lands of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, while at the same time a flotilla was prepared, in which he meditated attacking the Chauci from the coast. A canal had been cut between the Yssel and the Vecht, which gave him access to the Zuyder Zee, and the Frisii of modern Friesland acted as his guides. But bad weather delayed the expedition, and the army was marched back direct, gaining no advantage beyond the credit of enterprise. In the next year Drusus again crossed to the Lippe, which he bridged, and so reached the Weser, traversing the lands of the Cherusci (*Paderborn and Detmold*). The defection of the Chatti in their rear alone prevented the combined attack of all the tribes of central Germany. Even as it was, Drusus dared not cross the Weser, and was put in imminent peril during his retreat. He contrived, however, to turn the danger into a victory, which left the remainder of his march unimpeded except by casual skirmishes. He constructed a fortress on the Lippe at Aliso (*Hamm or Elsen*), and another to maintain his communications with the Chatti. He then returned to Rome, where he met Tiberius, just arrived from a second campaign in Pannonia, the successes of which, whatever they were, were held sufficient to justify an ovation. The same honour was awarded to Drusus. The province of Dalmatia was, however, now made an imperial province—a sure indication that its peacefulness was as yet anything but assured.

§ 17. In 10 B.C. Tiberius once more returned to Pannonia, where he gained a brilliant victory, and virtually ended the war in that district. Meanwhile, the con-

tinued hostility of the more eastward peoples of Thrace and Moesia had kept another commander employed. The Thracian Bessi had thrown off their allegiance to Rhescuporis, a vassal king, son of Cotys, and had driven out both him and his uncle, Rhæmetalcæes, in 13 B.C. L. Piso, commanding in Pamphylia, took over the war, and after three campaigns was able, in 11 B.C., to declare it ended. Drusus and Augustus both left Rome for Gaul at the same time as did Tiberius for Pannonia. A third campaign of Drusus was expended mainly in constructing roads and bridges, and otherwise preparing for a more serious undertaking in 9 B.C. In that year Drusus was consul. He marched through the lands of the Chatti, and, wheeling northward, crossed the Weser, and raided the Cheruscan territories as far as the Elbe (Albis). There he erected a trophy, and turned back; but on the march was thrown from his horse, and received injuries so severe that he died thirty days later at *Castra Scelerata*. The arch which was built by senatorial decree at Rome, to commemorate his triumphs, still stands. He had reached the farthest limit of Roman advance, and had warred without disaster, if with little real result, in the heart of the most independent of the German tribes. His work was taken up and completed by Tiberius.

CHAPTER IV.

8 B.C.—14 A.D.

§ 1. Second Census and Expurgation of the Senate.—§ 2. First and Second Campaigns of Tiberius in Germany.—§ 3. Death of Maecenas ; his Retirement.—§ 4. Tiberius, jealous of the young Sons of Agrippa, retires to Rhodes.—§ 5. Introduction of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, and Banishment of Julia.—§ 6. Armenian Affairs settled by Gaius. Death of Gaius and Lucius.—§ 7. Adoption of Tiberius by Augustus.—§ 8. Third and Fourth Campaigns of Tiberius in Germany. Reasons for his lack of Energy.—§ 9. A projected Attack upon Maroboduus, Prince of the Marcomanni, interrupted by (§ 10) the Pannonian Revolt. Troubles at Rome. Suppression of the Revolt by Germanicus.—§ 11. The *Clades Variana*.—§ 12. Fifth Campaign of Tiberius in Germany.—§ 13. His continued Advancement.—§ 14. Death of Augustus at Nola.

§ 1. AUGUSTUS was himself at Lugdunum (*Lyon*) when the death of Drusus left the legions of the German frontier without a commander. He summoned Tiberius, freshly home from the subjugation of Pannonia, to assume the vacant command, and himself returned to Rome in the next year (8 B.C.). His *imperium* was again renewed for ten years, and he carried out a second census and expurgation of the *Album Senatorium*. The latter was always a distasteful function, as it necessitated the censor's incurring the hatred of anyone whom he branded by degradation. On this occasion the *lectio* was less rigorously made than on the previous occasion, and many who had lost the money qualification for the position of senators received grants from the Princeps which enabled them to retain their rank. It is possible that he was urged to this leniency by the fact that he had trebled the minimum qualification.

§ 2. The first advance of Tiberius into Germany was a signal for immediate submission on the part of all the trans-Rhenish tribes, with the exception of the Sugambri. Tiberius referred the envoys to Augustus at Lugdunum, and the latter declared that he would hold no intercourse with them until the Sugambri also sent deputies. The prospect of being made the scapegoats of the whole German nation induced the latter to comply, and Augustus thereupon seized the whole of the envoys and imprisoned them, thus depriving the tribes of their leaders. Tiberius marched unopposed through Germany, and returned to his winter quarters, and thence to Rome, where he celebrated a triumph and entered upon another consulship. In the spring of 7 B.C. he again crossed the Rhine, and once more traversed the country without opposition. Repeated invasion had reduced the whole length of the right bank of the Rhine to no better than a desert, which yielded neither plunder nor supplies to the legions. The campaigns of Drusus had exhausted the resources of Gaul. The bankruptcy, which became the greatest of the difficulties of Tiberius when Emperor, already hampered him. There was no glory to be got in any further activity in this quarter, and for the next six years the German tribes lay quiet.

§ 3. In this year died the second of the great ministers of Augustus, C. Cilnius Mæcenas. For some years he had lived in retirement at his palace on the Collis Esquilinus, surrounded by men of letters, whose society pleased him and whose success was largely due to his patronage. Most famous of his circle was Horace, whom Mæcenas first raised from the obscurity of a clerk's office and introduced to the Emperor. People whispered that Augustus had ceased to love his faithful servant—his right hand in peace, as Agrippa had been in war; and scandal said that Mæcenas knew of and was vexed with the open attentions paid to his wife Terentia by the Princeps. Whatever the cause, the two saw little of each other for many years, though Augustus was named legatee in the will of the dead man—a compliment which he regularly looked for and rarely made use of.

§ 4. The occurrences of the next few years "will be confined, for the most part, to the affairs of the Cæsarean family and palace, and might, indeed, be represented in a drama, the scene of which should be a chamber in the imperial residence." Its plot is that of a jealous intrigue, wherein Tiberius and Livia are opposed to the young heirs of Agrippa, the grandsons of the Emperor, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar. Albeit married to their mother Julia, Tiberius could not but be jealous of the favour in which his stepsons stood. Both had been named *Principes Juventutis*, and Gaius was now consul-designate for the year 1 B.C., when he would make his entry into public office. Lucius would take the same plunge three years later. Moreover, the conduct of Julia, whose profligacy was notorious, disgusted Tiberius, the more as he had been really fond of his first wife, Vipsania, whom he had been constrained to divorce in order to marry Agrippa's widow. He was eager to withdraw from a court where his marital troubles were common scandal and where he was in daily contact with the boys who seemed to be supplanting him. In 6 B.C. occurred the outbreak of fresh disturbances in Armenia. He declined the commission to settle that country, but accepted the *Tribunitia potestas* for five years, and withdrew from Rome, leaving behind him his wife and Drusus, his child by Vipsania. He retired to Rhodes, where he professed a wish to study philosophy.* The command in Armenia was given to Varus.

§ 5. In 5 B.C. Augustus held his twelfth consulship, to introduce to the public his elder grandson, Gaius; and three years later, 2 B.C., he held that office for the thirteenth time, on the introduction of Lucius. On both occasions he laid it down after a few days and allowed it to pass into the hands of suffect consuls. The young Cæsars were greeted with every mark of enthusiastic popularity;† and the sudden banishment of their mother was all the more startling. It occurred in the very year of Lucius' presentation to the people, and dismissed Julia

* Rhodes, like Athens, was one of the Universities of the Roman Empire, and famous for its schools of rhetoric and philosophy. See Smith's 'Rome,' p. 639.

† It was on the occasion of this, his thirteenth consulship, that Augustus was greeted as *Pater Patriæ*.

to the island—or, rather, the rock—of Pandateria, some thirty miles west of Cumæ, where she was so closely guarded that none could see her, and the commonest necessities of life were denied her. Her ostensible offence was her outrageous licentiousness, which violated in every detail the efforts of the Princeps to reform the morality of the age. There was possibly a hidden reason of a political value, and the disgrace of several young nobles at the same time points to the fact that she was suspected, if not convicted, of conspiracy. One of her paramours, Julius Antonius, son of Fulvia and the Triumvir, was indicted under the law of *Majestas* and put to death. After five years Julia was allowed to reside at Rhegium; but she never again entered Rome or saw her family. She left a daughter of her own name, who suffered a like penalty for similar dissoluteness in the year 8 A.D.

§ 6. In the following year (1 B.C.) Gaius Cæsar commenced his political career with a commission to settle the Armenian troubles. Tigranes, whom Tiberius had placed upon the throne in 20 B.C., died in 6 B.C., and his sons had ventured to assume the sovereignty without doing homage for it to Augustus. On Tiberius declining the task, Varus drove them out, and placed Artavasdes on the throne. The sons of Tigranes appealed to Phraates, King of Parthia; and when Artavasdes was soon after expelled by a popular rising, the Parthians placed on the throne a second Tigranes. An attempt to resent the insult ended in a disaster to Varus or his successor; and Gaius was now ordered to reassert the authority of Rome. With him went Lollius, the general who had been defeated in Germany, 16 B.C., as his tutor and as Governor of Syria. Gaius contented himself for the present with sending orders to Phraates to withdraw, and spent this and the following year in a tour of the southern parts of Asia Minor and Syria, where he visited Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas, who had divided between them the kingdom of their father, Herod the Great, whose death occurred in 4 B.C. During the course of 2 A.D. Phraates denounced Lollius for selling State

secrets, and that governor was condemned. Gaius now held a meeting with the Parthian king, who undertook to make all satisfaction required for his recent aggressions, and to allow the return of Artavasdes. But that prince died about the same time; and thereupon Gaius agreed to leave Tigranes upon the throne of Armenia, subject to the consent of Augustus. The Princes, afraid, perhaps, to incur a war with the combined forces of Parthia and Armenia, assented to the arrangement; but nevertheless Tigranes provoked an invasion, in which Gaius advanced to Artagira, which he besieged. The governor, Addon, on pretence of arranging a capitulation, obtained an interview with the young Caesar, in the course of which he treacherously stabbed him (3 A.D.). Gaius withdrew into Syria and lingered a few months, dying at Limyra in the early part of 4 A.D. Two years previously had died Lucius Caesar, of sickness which had attacked him at Massilia when on the road to Spain; and thus, within twelve months, the two 'props of his empire' whom Augustus had adopted were both carried off. Tiberius had returned to Rome, at the repeated entreaties of Livia, in 2 A.D., and was once more left the Emperor's closest relative and supporter. Rumour said that the intrigues of Livia had much to do with the strangely sudden and consecutive deaths of Lucius and Gaius; but there is little probability in the tale, although she was not a woman to stay her hand in advancing the fortunes of her unpopular son.

§ 7. Upon Tiberius accordingly fell all the honours which had lately promised to pass to the dead youths. He was at once adopted by Augustus, together with Agrippa Postumus, the surviving son of Agrippa. Tiberius could view such a rival without jealousy, for he already showed a *gaucherie* and lack of intelligence which disgusted his adoptive father. The *Tribunitia potestas* of Tiberius was renewed for another term of five years, and an immediate opening for military exploits was found for him on the German frontier. Augustus did not forget that the Principate had sprung from the power of the sword; and he foresaw that Rome was not

yet prepared to welcome a Princeps who could not found his claims on victories and support them by the respect of his legions.

§ 8. As early as the year 1 B.C., the tribes between the Weser (*Visurgis*) and the lower waters of the Rhine had again taken up arms. The Roman legions were commanded by Vinicius, who seems, at any rate, to have suffered no disgrace if he made no headway. To end the struggle, Tiberius hurried to the scene and speedily overran the lands of the Bructeri, Canninefates, and Cherusci, all of whom submitted. He spent some months in securing his conquests by roads, bridges, and military camps, hoping to set at permanent peace a country so often subdued in vain. In the year 5 A.D. he advanced beyond the Weser and pushed forward to the Elbe. His plans were admirably laid. A large fleet, conveying supplies, dropped down the Rhine, coasted along Friesland, and sailed up the Elbe, where they were joined by the land army, which had struck straight through the heart of northern Germany to that river. The natives ventured only once to make a stand, and were easily defeated. Tiberius received the title of *Imperator* for the third time, for the reduction of the Chauci and Langobardi; but all further action in this quarter was intermitted. In fact, there were not funds to maintain it. It has been said above that the German wars brought no return in booty to recruit the State chest; and the same was true in the case of most of the vast army of legions stationed as garrisons throughout the empire. Their maintenance was a necessity, but an expensive one; and, combined with the heavy losses annually incurred by the corn-doles, it had already emptied the exchequer.

§ 9. There remained a more formidable power with which to deal. The Marcomanni, on retiring from the *Agri Decumates*, withdrew to the valleys of the Moldau and Upper Elbe, the modern Bohemia, and there under the command of their chief Maroboduus, himself schooled in war and politics by a long residence in Rome, they became a powerful federation whose forces mustered

70,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry, trained on the Roman plan. Such neighbours were a standing menace to the Danube frontier, and accordingly an excuse for war was found in 6 A.D. Tiberius, now transferred to the command of the Pannonian legion, marched northward upon the centre of Maroboduus' kingdom, while simultaneously another army moved to the same goal from the Upper Rhine, commanded by Sentius Saturninus whose exploits in the previous year, as lieutenant of Tiberius, had won for him the triumphal ornaments. The two columns were already within striking distance when the news came that all Pannonia and Delmatia were once more in revolt. A peace was hastily patched up with Maroboduus, who thus lost the opportunity of inflicting a mighty blow upon the empire in conjunction with the revolted nations in the rear of Tiberius' army.

§ 10. This last and most dangerous revolt of the Delmatico-Pannonian tribes was caused by the severity of Messalinus in levying fresh native troops to support the advance of Tiberius against the Marcomanni. There was, besides, the stock grievance of oppression, and now, headed by the Delmatian chiefs Bato and Pinnes and the Pannonian Bato, they rose *en masse* in the rear of Tiberius. The Roman fortresses had been weakened by the withdrawal of so many legionaries beyond the Danube, and the first attacks of the insurgents were successful. They failed as a rule when venturing to assault fortified camps, but they ravaged the country far and near, and the victory of Cæcina which saved Sirmium from the Pannonians was fully as costly as a defeat. The Dacians and Sarmatians joined the revolt and threatened the Roman lines on the Lower Danube. The Illyrians contemplated the invasion of Italy, which contained no regular garrison save the prætorians.

At Rome there was great alarm. The veterans were called to arms from their allotments in all parts of Italy; the very slaves were armed. The state of the city had for some time been restless. As early as 4 A.D. one Gnaeus Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompeius Maximus, had been detected in a conspiracy immediately after the third

lectio senatus which occurred in that year, and had been freely pardoned. Since then the difficulty of providing for the corn-doles had increased, and the city had at one time been threatened with a panic. The legionaries, too, had been clamouring for higher pay and privileges, and to meet some part of the expense of his large military establishment the Princeps had established the *Ærarium Militare*, a fund for providing discharged soldiers with pensions, the means for which were raised by the institution of two taxes. One was a tax of one per cent. on all sales, the other an impost of five per cent. on legacies. They were the first direct taxes laid upon the privileged Romans for many centuries, and met with considerable opposition, which expressed itself in incendiary fires and seditious placards. At this time was established the first urban police or night patrol.

The new troops were put under the command of Germanicus, son of Drusus and nephew of Tiberius, who had been adopted by Tiberius at Augustus' request. In the course of 7 A.D. he recovered part of Delmatia, while Tiberius again overran Pannonia, and the advance of Severus, the legate of Mœsia, pressed the revolted tribes on a third side. The struggle dragged on during two years more, when Germanicus could declare the revolt entirely quelled and its leaders captured or slain. The last tribes to hold out were those of Delmatia, which did not submit completely until 9 A.D., two years later than the subjection of Pannonia.

§ 11. Meanwhile Augustus found himself beset on every side with treachery. A slave named Telephus attempted to assassinate him, and a second conspiracy was organized by some freedmen who wished to set on the throne Agrippa Postumus. That son of Agrippa had been banished in 6 A.D. to the island of Planasia, near Elba, more because of Livia's jealousy than his own shortcomings. In this conspiracy was implicated the younger Julia, who had inherited her mother's licentiousness, and was also banished under the *Lex Majestatis*. To crown all came the news of a national disaster in the summer of 9 A.D. The command in Germany had devolved upon

L. Quinctilius Varus, who had excited wide discontent by his attempts to enforce too speedily the full exercise of Roman procedure in a province as yet only half subdued. Though many of the Germans had taken service in the legions they still cherished their national systems of law and custom, and when Varus endeavoured to introduce Roman laws and police and manners, he found himself the object of a conspiracy led by Arminius (*Hermann*), son of Segimerus, chief of the Cherusci. He had long resided at Rome, had been presented with the citizenship, and had become a member of the Equestrian Order. Segimerus was indignant with him owing to the latter having carried off his niece, the daughter of a brother chief, Segestes, and he warned Varus of the treachery which threatened him. Varus paid no attention to his warnings, but advanced into the wildest parts of Central Germany, the Teutoburgensis Saltus (*Teutoburger Wald*). The report of a rising of the southern tribes in his rear induced him to wheel about and endeavour to cross a low-lying district, now rendered almost impassable by the autumn rains. Up to this point Arminius had remained with the legions, disguising his treachery. He now quitted the camp on pretence of seeking reinforcements, and at once placed himself at the head of his warriors, and in person led them to the attack. For three days the legions struggled to escape. Then Varus committed suicide, and the remnant of his men were cut down almost to a man. Three entire legions with all their stores and auxiliaries were thus destroyed, a total of at least 20,000 men, and the three eagles were hung up as trophies in the groves of the German deities. The few who escaped were sheltered by Asprenas, who commanded two legions on the left bank of the Rhine, and whose firm attitude alone prevented the invasion of Gaul.

§ 12. This disaster summoned Tiberius once again to Germany. He expended a whole year in recruiting fresh legions and doing everything to replace the loss of Varus' army. At last, in 11 A.D., he once more entered Germany. He met with no opposition, nor did he, on his own part, seek it by pushing the enemy to their last strongholds.

His army traversed the country for a whole summer without the loss of a man, and at the close of the year, when he returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph for his Pannonian victories, he left behind him no trace of the recent disaster. Nevertheless, Augustus mourned for his legions with a regret worthy of the 'Father of his Country;' nor was it until the reign of Tiberius that Germanicus recovered (A.D. 15) the lost eagles and buried the bones of the fallen legionaries. For the present that commander was left in charge of the combined armies of Upper and Lower Germany, eight legions in all.

§ 13. Tiberius was now beyond doubt the heir-elect to the Principate. In 13 A.D., the imperium of Augustus was again renewed for five years, and at the same time Tiberius' *Trānstitia potestas* was prolonged for a like period, and the *imperium proconsulare* was bestowed upon him. This virtually made him partner with Augustus in the government, and indeed the Emperor, now seventy-five years of age, needed someone to lighten the burden of his duties. At the same time was created a regular cabinet council of twenty senators, who held their place for twelve months at a time. There had already existed the nucleus of such a council; but its members were changed every six months, and their authority was less real. It was the policy of Augustus indeed to retain all the nobility of Rome within the city, where they could not escape his watchfulness, and he had amused them by the show of influence which they possessed as his privy councillors.

§ 14. The year 14 A.D. commenced with a new scrutiny of the senatorial list and a general census of the Roman world, at which were returned 4,097,000 inhabitants. Tiberius shared the powers of censor with the Princeps, and at its close prepared at some length to resume command of the army in Illyricum. Meanwhile, Augustus employed himself in drawing up a record of his deeds and reign, and copies of this were placed in the public archives. One such has been preserved to us on the walls of a ruined temple at Ancyra, and is hence called *Monumentum Ancyranum*. An account of this valuable

inscription will be found below in Chapter VI. When Tiberius had completed his preparations, Augustus accompanied him as far as Beneventum, but contracted a dysentery during the journey; and though he recovered for the moment, and retired, as usually in the malarious summer months, towards Campania, the sickness returned and prostrated him at Nola. Livia despatched messengers to summon Tiberius; but it is uncertain whether the successor arrived in time to see Augustus alive. 'Have I played my rôle well?' asked the dying man of his friends about him. 'If so, applaud me at its close.' He died August 19, 14 A.D., at the age of seventy-seven years all but thirty-seven days, having been born on September 23, 63 B.C., in the consulship of Cicero, his rival in the title of *Pater Patriæ*.

CHAPTER V.

The New Constitution.

§ 1. The *Imperium* and Oath of Allegiance.—§ 2. Division of the Provinces.—§ 3. Augustus dissatisfied with a Military Despotism.—§ 4. The *Imperium Consulare*.—§ 5. The *Tribunitia Potestas*.—§ 6. The Censorship.—§ 7. Judicial Powers of the Princeps.—§ 8. The Dynasty.—§ 9. Augustus' Means of controlling the Senatorial Government.—§ 10. Finance; the Revenues; *Ærarium* and *Fiscus*.—§ 11. The *Equites*.—§ 12. Bankruptcy of the *Ærarium*.—§ 13. The *Prætoriana*; *Vigiles*; Municipal Government.—§ 14. The *Præfectus Urbis*.—§ 15. Aggrandisement of the Senate.—§ 16. Legislation of Augustus; the *Lex Majestatis*.—§ 17. *Lex Papia Poppæa*.—§ 18. Sumptuary Law.—§ 19. Likeness and Unlikeness of the Augustan Constitution to that of Julius.

§ 1. In the first chapter it was shown that the Principate arose naturally from the custom of conferring extraordinary military commands. It was therefore essentially built up upon the possession of the *imperium*—the command of the army. But it differed from the commands held by Pompeius, Crassus, and others, in that it was co-extensive with the empire, and not limited to any one or more particular provinces. The full extent of Augustus' *imperium* was not formally stated until 23 B.C., and it was for this reason that he dated his reign from that year.

Under the republic, the consuls alone in early times, and later their representatives the proconsuls and prætors, had possessed the right of military command, and that right was limited to certain specified provinces, and invalid within the *pomerium*.* In the case of

* Except in the case of Pompeius, 53 B.C., and even he did not venture to make any public appearance in the city with his military insignia.

Augustus both these limitations were done away with. His *imperium* was valid alike within and without the walls; and further, it superseded the authority of any other officer in the empire. In fact, the *imperium* was now dissociated from its original offices, and was vested in Augustus independent of his being consul or proconsul, just as the powers of the tribunate or censorship were separated in his hands from the actual offices of tribune and censor. As *Imperator* and *Princeps*, Augustus possessed at once the *imperium* and *imperium majus*—i.e., a command superior to that of any other possible military official. Hence it was to him that the legions throughout the empire took the *sacramentum* or oath of allegiance; and as, theoretically, every citizen and subject of Rome was liable to military service, that *sacramentum* came to be taken annually from the whole population of the Roman world* on the Calends of January and on the Emperor's birthday. And just as the successes of a *legatus*, under the old régime, were accounted to the credit, not of their actual winner, but of the *imperator* whom he represented, so Augustus alone could claim the honours and triumphs of every officer under his command, seeing that it was under his auspices as commander-in-chief that these honours were earned. In the early years of his reign he could consistently allow others to triumph; but when he was invested with the supreme *imperium* such a course was constitutionally impossible, excepting in the case when he had permitted another to share the *imperium*—e.g., Tiberius. For the rest, the 'triumphal ornaments,' without the actual honours of a triumph, were all that any other commander could legally receive. And in the same way the legions, when victorious under a Tiberius, a Sentius, or a Germanicus, hailed as *Imperator* not those commanders, but the Emperor, whose face they had possibly never seen.

§ 2. It was to keep in his own hands the control of the military forces that Augustus, in 27 B.C., made the

* The formula was *jurare in verba Cesaris*.

division of the provinces into imperial and senatorial. The former were such as needed the presence of a military force, and therefore the exercise of *imperium*, to protect them from external enemies or to curb their internal turbulence. The senatorial provinces, on the contrary, were those which were so peaceful as to need no military establishment, and were, as a rule, the most flourishing and wealthy portions of the empire. If by chance any small body of troops were stationed there, their commander, albeit appointed by the Senate, was entirely amenable to the authority of the Princeps.

§ 3. The *imperium* alone, however, was too much a power of the sword to satisfy the policy of Augustus, who aimed at being 'chief amongst his peers' in every point. It might be true, as was discovered at a later day, that 'an Emperor could be made elsewhere than in Rome,' if only the legions chose to invest anyone with the authority of their swords. As yet this secret was hidden, and to all appearance the Princeps was the creation of the Senate and people; and, indeed, he continued to be so theoretically, however much the will of the legions interfered with the constitutional action of the proper elective bodies. Nero was declared a public enemy by the same Senate that had previously made him by the *Lex Regia* their Emperor. All the powers of the Princeps were derived from the orthodox source of the *senatus consultum*. Augustus took nothing by his own mere choice. To the last he studied to maintain the appearance of subservience to the formulae of republican government; and if it was never so plain that those formulae were terrorized into his service, no one could twit him with actual terrorism.

§ 4. The republic had been headed by its two consuls, who represented the original undivided monarchy. The consuls still continued to hold office, and were still in theory the chiefs of the State. But Augustus contrived to place himself on a par with them first by himself holding the consulate year after year; and when he found that such insistent usurpation of an office which could not constitutionally be held except at intervals of

ten years threatened to emphasize unpleasantly the autocracy of his rule, he exchanged it for the still more authoritative powers of the *Consulare imperium*—powers which derived additional vigour from their being virtually perpetual. How he obtained this investiture, and what a bold stroke he made to obtain it, has been already described. He did obtain it, and by the spontaneous gift of the Senate; so that, while the actual power was itself unconstitutional, it derived full sanction from the legality of the process by which it was conferred.

§ 5. It remained to assert himself as the patron of the populace as well as the supreme executive officer of the Senate. To do this he needed the authority of the popular officer, the Tribune. No patrician could be a tribune; and therefore Augustus refrained from actually taking the office. He utilized the same fiction as that which had secured him other powers, a fiction invented by Julius. The office was separated from its powers, and the latter alone conferred upon the Princesps. Armed with the *Tribunitia potestas*, he could veto any proposal made in the Senate, bar the action of the judicial officers, and, if he wished it, assume a positive activity in proposing laws to the *comitia*. But this last right he never exercised. He possessed it as fully as he desired in the proconsular *imperium*, which, coupled with his position as *Princeps senatus*, enabled him to move any proposition in the Senate, and so gave him full legislative initiative. On the other hand, he found in the *Tribunitia potestas* a means of flattering the populace, and an additional safeguard to his person in the *sacrosanctitas* attaching thereto. And he valued this power so highly that he counted by this, and not by the *imperium*, the years of his reign, from B.C. 23 onward.

§ 6. The powers of the censorship he assumed by the help of the same fiction. He was not actually censor; it is recorded, in fact, that he refused the office on three separate occasions. To have been censor would have debarred him constitutionally from any other office, for under the old régime no person could hold at the same

time more than one magistracy. But he took the powers without the office, and found therein a means to enforce his legislation on morals and manners, to remove objectionable persons from the Senate, and in general to supervise the working of the civil administration, with a completeness and authority otherwise unobtainable. He calls himself *Rector morum et legum* repeatedly in his inscriptions; and undoubtedly he used this authority with a genuine desire to obviate the worst abuses of the time, social and civil.

§ 7. The combination of the foregoing powers led to the possession of wide judicial authority. As holding the *imperium* within the *pomerium*, Augustus possessed the power of life and death; and in accordance herewith he gradually established himself as a supreme judge, with a small body of assessors, his cabinet councillors, to aid him. This authority he exercised, however, usually only in the case of offenders of high rank. In all cases he was the sole judge of appeal; but minor cases remained to be decided as under the Republic, either by the Senate, or by the Prætors and *questiones*. Still, even here the Princeps was all-powerful. As *Princeps senatus* he could deliver that first *sententia*, which was virtually equivalent to a command to be followed blindly by the rest; as invested with censorial powers, he scrutinized the list of *judices*, and he originated the imperial habit of attending in person in the prætor's courts, sitting side by side with them as an assessor. Finally, should any verdict be passed against his wishes, he possessed the Tribune's right to protect the condemned from the action of the law.

§ 8. While, then, the ordinary course of government, legislature, and justice, went on as in the best days of the Republic, side by side ran a parallel authority, that of the Emperor. The Constitution was now a Dyarchy, or government by two independent but harmonious powers. On the one side, the old Republican machinery retained outwardly its full dignity and much of its authority; on the other side, the Princeps, proclaiming himself always the servant of the State, much as the Pope styles himself

servus servorum, exercised an authority in all its branches constitutional, and yet in fact superior to that of the traditional power. The Princeps moved his laws in the Senate just as did any other legislator before him, and the rescripts which he issued from time to time were only conformable to his many recognised powers. The imperial court of justice was in full accord with traditional right, and with the senatorial and prætorian judicature. The same dualism extended to finance, to religion, and to foreign affairs. The pontificate of the Princeps was merely a piece of the ordinary religious system of the State. His government of the imperial provinces was balanced by the Senate's control in provinces non-imperial. The financial arrangements of the two orders of provinces were divided in the same way. And to keep up the fiction of his entire submission to the 'Republic one and indivisible,' Augustus occasionally consulted the Senate on matters which legitimately lay entirely in his own control.

§ 9. Nevertheless, he maintained a firm hold upon the slightest action of the Senate and comitia. The election of the consuls, prætors, and other officers, though ostensibly free, was really limited completely by the Princeps' wishes. He did not actually appoint these officers himself. Such a course, followed by Julius, would have savoured too much of despotism. But he could and did always secure the election of any candidates whom he chose by the process of 'nominating' or 'recommending' them. Such nomination or recommendation, while it flattered the people with a show of liberty, yet always carried its point, and was really felt to be equivalent to a direct appointment. Augustus imitated Julius in the plan of instituting several pairs of *Consules Suffecti* in a single year, thus being able to confer the still coveted honour of the ivory chair upon several individuals instead of two only. His power of imperceptibly controlling the Senate in legislature has already been described.

Similarly in the provinces his officers (*legati Cæsaris*, *procuratores*, etc.) possessed powers co-ordinate with those of any corresponding senatorial magistrate, while

the *imperium* set the Emperor himself supreme over one and all.

§ 10. In regard to finance, the revenues of the State were derived from the old sources. The rental of the old *Ager Publicus* grew to be a land-tax collected from all parts of the empire, and falling on all who possessed any landed property. Its amount, fixed definitely for all, was one-tenth of the produce in grain, one-fifth of that in wine and oil. It was paid in certain places in coin, in others, as in the case of Sicily, always in kind. Such taxable subjects as had no land were taxed under a poll-tax assessed on their incomes. The old Republican *celestia* still continued, duties on imported goods, harbour-dues, commissions on the manufacture of salt, mining-dues, and fees for the enjoyment of the public pastures. In addition, when the increasing burden of its expenses rendered further revenues imperative, Augustus imposed the taxes on sales and legacies already mentioned. As a rule, however, Roman citizens were exempt from taxation just as they had been under the Republic since the time when the conquest of Macedonia led to the abolition of the *tributum* in 167 B.C.

The revenues from these various sources were collected on a double system. In the senatorial provinces the *Equites* still farmed the taxes and collected them for the senatorial *questores* by aid of the *publicani*. In the imperial provinces the collection was in the hands of the *Procuratores Fisci*. The *questores* were, as of old, answerable to the Senate for their levies, which went into the *erarium* and were expended in the payment of the *proconsuls* and other salaried* functionaries. The *procuratores* paid their receipts into a separate chest, the *fiscus*, which was applied to the maintenance of the imperial administration, and so to the payment of the legions. In time the *erarium* was gradually absorbed in the *fiscus*, and hence it was that the taxable world came to be regarded as the property of the Caesar, and the Caesar as the owner of the world. The *erarium militare*,

* The word *salarium* is derived from the charge levied upon the Republican provinces to defray the cost of the salt of the *proconsul* (sal, *salarium*).

supported, as above stated, by the *centesima rerum venalium* and the *vicesima hereditatum*, remained always a distinct chest.

✓ § 11. The *Equites* had now lost most of their old opportunities for money-making, for the *procuratores*, really the officers of the imperial provinces alone, contrived to exercise their powers to the restraint of the old extortionate methods of collection even in the senatorial provinces. Their order, indeed, had become degraded, although still ranking next to the Senate and distinguished by the wearing of the gold ring. They gradually separated into two bodies. The mass of their number remained simple *Equites*, qualified jurors and revenue-farmers. But the more aristocratic of their number passed into the ranks of the *Equites Splendidi*, an exclusive body or guild, composed of such men as Mæcenas, the tradition of whose military duties was still kept up by the gift of an *equus publicus*. Their sole function, however, was to ride in procession on the Ides of July, the anniversary of the battle of Lake Regillus.

§ 12. Though the expenses of the *ærarium* were but small originally, the system of payment which now gradually grew up swamped much of its revenues, and the baneful policy of supplying the mob with corn gratuitously more than consumed the balance. Augustus found it necessary to subsidize the *ærarium* repeatedly from the *fiscus*, and this, too, although the expenses of the latter chest were at the outset far more heavy. On the *fiscus* fell the maintenance of the whole imperial household, with its slaves, clerks, and secretaries of the *legati* and *procuratores*, and of the entire military force, fleets, legions, and citizen troops alike. Hence the chronic bankruptcy of the State.

§ 13. The security of the Emperor's person and the tranquillity of Rome were guaranteed by the presence of *prætorian cohorts*, each consisting of 1,000 men, and levied exclusively from Latium, Etruria, Umbria, and the old Latin colonies in Italy. Only three cohorts were as yet quartered in various parts of the city, the remainder being stationed in neighbouring towns, and it

remained for Tiberius to centralize them in one camp by the Servian *Agger* to the east of the Esquiline. The post of *Præfectus* of the Prætorians came to be the most formidable in Rome. The city itself was divided into fourteen wards (*vici*) for the greater facility of the civil administration, and the entire number was patrolled by regular *vigiles*, though these were not instituted till 6 A.D. The condition of the buildings and streets was greatly improved. Augustus himself set the example by his lavish outlay in the restoration of all the existing temples, the 300 chapels of the city, and in building new temples and palaces. His example was imitated by all the wealthier citizens, and he could say with truth that he left a city of marble where he had found one of brick. The management of very many of the details formerly vested in the *ædiles* and *quæstors* was now given to boards of commissioners, and employment at home was thus found for a large number of distinguished Romans whom it was the policy of the Princeps to keep in the city. By finding them official duties he hoped to keep them from that mischievous idleness which is the surest encouragement to disaffection.

§ 14. Finally, the establishment of the office of *Præfectus Urbis* set up a deputy to whom Augustus could, in his frequent absences, safely entrust the superintendence of municipal matters. This officer had survived as a name from the time of the kings, but his sole function had come to be the management of the *Ferie Latine*. Julius had restored him to fuller authority, and Augustus accepted the precedent. His powers were wide and formidable. He could exclude from the city any whom he deemed disaffected, banish others, and his sphere of authority extended to a distance of 100 miles from the city walls. The first Prefect of the City was Messala.

§ 15. Such was the new constitution as it was left by Augustus. Its theory was the union of the old Republican government with his own. Behind this lay the less patent, but equally sure, policy of degrading the people and advancing the Senate, exactly the opposite of the course pursued by Julius. In the Senate Augustus

could find a far more tractable machine than in the mob. It was to this end that he so carefully guarded the dignity of the senatorial office, gave to it new insignia of rank, and flattered its members by the gift of offices no less than by assiduously pretending to court their advice and assistance. His successors carried out his policy of degrading the populace to the full, for with Tiberius ceased even the semblance of the old *comitia*. But they also reduced the senators to a servile instrument—the end which Augustus must have clearly foreseen.

§ 16. The legislation of Augustus was confined mainly to laws regulating social abuses. In other parts of government his rescripts or edicts, while seemingly mere suggestions, came to usurp the place of *leges* and *senatus consulta*, and were afterwards collected as the ‘Constitutions of Augustus.’ The laws, however, properly so called, passed in due form according to the ancient Republican constitution, were those of Treason (*Majestatis*), of the regulation of Marriage (*Papia Poppæa*), and a sumptuary law (*de sumptu*).

By *majestas* (in its earlier and fuller form *lesa majestas*) was understood any offence against the majesty of the State, any action, that is, derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people. Under the Republic such offences had been provided for originally by the old laws against *perduellio*, which included the betrayal of armies, collusion with an enemy, and in general merely military misdemeanours. In 100 B.C. the *Lex Appuleia*, and the *Leges Varia* (91 B.C.) and *Cornelia* (of Sulla, 81 B.C.), extended the name *majestas* to other actions; and Julius also passed a law on the same lines. It remained for the Emperors to enlarge the application of the law so as to reach even words, and under Tiberius almost any offence could with a little ingenuity be brought within the scope of the *Lex Majestatis*. Under it men were accused of conspiracy, of false swearing by Cæsar’s name, of defacing statues of Cæsar, of immorality with members of the Cæsarean house. In this last point Augustus set the example, it was said, in his treatment of his daughter Julia. That he did enlarge the bearings

of the law is certain ; but it was an engine of power which he rarely used, and it remained rather an *in terrorem* weapon than a reality during his lifetime. It became, of course, nothing more or less than a *privilegium* enabling the Caesar to veil his own cruelties under the guise of zeal for the honour of the State, since the Princeps was now the embodiment of the State.

§ 17. The *Lex Papia Poppæa* of 9 A.D. was a sweeping law directed against the growth of celibacy. Even in the days of Julius some legislation had been necessary to check the decrease of population consequent on civil war and the decay of marriage. Augustus found the evil still greater when, in 28 B.C., he first essayed its cure. His measures were, however, so fiercely opposed that he dropped them either wholly or in part ; and after a second, half-hearted, attempt by a *Lex Julia* in 13 B.C., he finally carried the law which took its name from the two consuls of the year 9 A.D. By this law the intermarriage of senators or the sons of senators with freed women was forbidden ; a tax was laid upon celibates and spinsters, and privileges and rewards offered to the parents of three or more children ; the citizens of Italian towns could purchase the full franchise by the possession of three children, and, like the Romans, could earn exemption from numerous duties, such as the charge of wards (*tutela*). Freed men were included in the law, and could on the same terms obtain exemption from their obligations to their *patronus*. Divorce was hindered, unlawful marriages invalidated, and immorality heavily punished. Rewards were offered for information which led to convictions under this law, and hence arose the practice of delation so terrible under Tiberius, when it was transferred to offences under the *Lex Majestatis*. The *delator* was a public informer, who prosecuted in hopes of rewards from the Princeps or of being bought off by bribes by his victim.

Many of the provisions of the preceding law related to inheritance and legacies, and are sometimes alluded to under the title of the *Lex Caducaria*.

§ 18. The Sumptuary law was passed in 22 B.C., and

aimed at suppressing the reckless extravagance of the table prevalent amongst the upper classes. Like most other laws of the same kind, it was a failure; and the evil gradually died a natural death. Nevertheless it was always part of the dream of Augustus to restore something of the traditional simplicity and austerity of Roman manners and morals; and hence arose the severity with which he visited their licentiousness upon the two Julias, and, according to some, the banishment of Ovid the poet, who was dismissed to Tomi (*Kustendjeh*) on the Euxine in the year 8 A.D.

§ 19. The influence of the example of Julius is traceable in many features of the Augustan constitutions. From him came the practice of accumulating in one person many hitherto separate offices, of severing the powers of an office from the office itself, of appointing the succession to the minor offices many years in advance, and of controlling the elections by 'nomination'; the bestowal of the insignia of an office or rank, such as those of the consulate or a triumph, without the reality, the creation of new Patricians, and admission of foreigners to the Senate; the attempt to diminish the numbers of those in receipt of the corn-dole; the reappointment of the *Prefectus Urbis*; the substitution of edicts or rescripts for formal laws, all came from the mind of Julius. On the other hand, it was the originality of Augustus, in contradiction to Cæsar's policy, to aggrandize the Senate; to maintain the fiction of the Republic as still active; to allow of no patent departure from ancient routine in office and administration; and to suppress, at least in public, the deification of himself.

CHAPTER VI.

The Provinces.

§ 1. Augustus not a Conqueror.—§ 2. Extent of the Empire at his Death.—§ 3. Double Method of dealing with Conquered Provinces. The Census and Taxation alone Uniform.—§ 4. Various Grades of Civic Liberty.—§ 5. The Spanish Provinces.—§ 6. The Gaulish Provinces.—§ 7. Egypt.—§ 8. Value of the Military Colonies of the Frontier.—§ 9. The *Breriarium Imperii*.—§ 10. The *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

§ 1. THE process by which many new provinces were brought under the Roman rule has been detailed in the earlier chapters of this book. The vast inheritance which the empire received from the Republic was little extended by its first rulers. It was the policy of Augustus rather to consolidate than enlarge his empire; and the few provinces which were added to the empire during his reign came into his hands peaceably upon the death of the vassal princes who had hitherto held them. The Spanish, German, Delmatian and Pannonian wars were fought for the sake of security, not of conquest; and even the occupation of Rhaetia and Noricum, though it formed an actual extension of the limits of the empire, was necessary rather than voluntary, in order to secure a defensible frontier. Roughly speaking, the boundaries of the empire on the death of Augustus were on the west the Atlantic, on the north the Rhine and Danube, on the east the Euphrates. On the south there was no definite limit, nor was it needed in the peaceful state of the tribes of Africa.

§ 2. The list of the imperial provinces in 14 A.D.

comprises Italia; Hispania Tarraconensis, and Lusitania; Gallia Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica; Rætia and Noricum; Vindelicia, Delmatia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Mœsia; Macedonia and Achæa; Cilicia, Galatia, and Syria with Palestine; Egypt. The senatorial provinces included Hispania Bætica, Asia, Bithynia, Cyrenaica, Africa, Numidia, Sicilia, Corsica and Sardinia, and Cyprus. But particular provinces frequently changed hands. Thus Achæa was under senatorial control until 15 B.C., when it was incorporated in the larger province of Macedonia under imperial control. Delmatia became an imperial province after the great revolt of 6 A.D. Egypt occupied a peculiar position which will be explained. As a rule it may be said that the Senate enjoyed the government and revenues of all the more peaceful, and therefore more wealthy provinces, while the task of ruling all the more turbulent and less productive regions belonged to the Cæsar.

§ 3. The Romans had two methods of dealing with a conquered country. Either it was treated with indulgence or with severity. In the former case the national customs, religion and laws, and even the local government, were left undisturbed in the main. In the latter case colonization was made use of to plant Romans throughout the conquered territory, and the laws, language, and religion of Rome were enforced by compulsion. In either case the country became gradually Romanized, and if it did not entirely forget its own nationality as in the case of Spain, it accepted the culture and civilization of Rome side by side with its original system, as was largely the case in Gaul and in the eastern provinces. In any case the country was thrown open by well-built roads and bridges; its whole area was mapped out and a census taken of the populace at recurring intervals to assist the collection of the universal land-tax, poll-taxes and tithes; the Roman traders were encouraged to explore its resources; and the superior attractions of Roman life were set before the eyes of its people in a way which rapidly brought them into complete harmony with their conquerors.

§ 4. Beyond the census and the assessment for taxation the Romans did not carry out any systematic process of assimilation. Local government retained its distinctiveness in all parts of their empire, only differing in the degree of liberty allowed, or according as the province was indulged or coerced. In the latter case the governor of the province took into his hand the mass of the judicial business of the country, and annually performed a circuit in which he visited the principal towns in succession and there held a *conventus* or assize. In the former case, only the more important litigation was submitted to the award of Roman magistrates. In either case, the bulk of the provincial towns adopted the system of municipal government which had prevailed in Italy, where two chief magistrates (*duumviri*) presided over a senate of the local magnates, and had as their assessors two *ædiles* or *quaestors*. It was the chief duty of the *duumvirs* to send in yearly an accurate return of the population of the town to facilitate the regulation of taxation. Many towns, especially in Spain, received the fuller privileges known as the *jus Latæ*, which had formerly been allowed to the ancient allied towns of Latium, and of course the numerous colonies, planted mainly for the purpose of defence, possessed the full franchise as of old. A very few towns, such as Massilia (*Marseilles*), retained a sort of independence, exempt alike from taxation and from the interference of any Roman officer. Still a few others, which had brought upon themselves the anger of the Romans by revolt or by the stubbornness of their resistance, were treated more severely than all, and stood on the level of the old Italian prefectures.

§ 5. With these general rules in mind, it will not be difficult to understand the condition of any particular part of the empire. Nevertheless there are one or two portions which require special notice. The peninsula of Spain, conquered at last after 200 years of warfare, was divided into three provinces. Of these, *Bætica*, so-called from the *Bætis* (*Guadalequivir*), was the southern portion, the district formerly opened up by the Phœnicians, and teeming with all the best products of the soil whether

mineral or vegetable. It was the seat, too, of flourishing manufactures, particularly of woollen and linen goods and wrought iron, and its capital, Gades (*Cádiz*), was to the Western Mediterranean what Alexandria was to the Eastern Sea. This was the senatorial province, governed as in the old days by a proconsul, and only sensible of change in the fact that extortion no longer ran riot. The two other divisions, *Tarraconensis* and *Lusitania* (*Portugal and the North-West Highlands*) were occupied largely by warlike tribes akin to the modern Basques, and, as has been said, they were held in check by a series of large military colonies. The great coast road from Italy to Marseilles was continued to Tarraco and thence to the Bætis valley and the ocean. Other roads opened on to this, and the presence of the legionary and the trader resulted in fifty years in the complete Romanization of the most stubborn of all the subject peoples.

§ 6. In Gaul another system was adopted. If the Spanish provinces were an example of coercion, those of Gaul were equally an example of indulgence. The whole of the four divisions were indeed brought into direct intercourse with Lugdunum (*Lyons*), a newly founded strategic colony, as their centre, by means of roads; and the Narbonese was planted with Italian colonies in all directions. But the Narbonese had long ceased to be Gaulish. The provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica, on the other hand, were still profoundly Gaulish. Yet they were allowed to retain their old system of clanship centralizing round separate towns, and the government of these clans remained in its original hands. But there was instituted a parliament of the representatives of the cantons or clans who met annually at Lugdunum, where they were brought fully into contact with the culture of Roman Gaul, while flattered with the semblance of self-government. Even the Gallic league of 1,500 paces was retained as the unit of measure along the great military roads. But Roman arts and method of agriculture, the Roman language and religion, pushed themselves so silently and so rapidly that when Civilis attempted to recover Gaul for the Gauls he found there were no Gauls

left; all had become Romans. The land became one of the most flourishing parts of the whole empire, far the most flourishing of the imperial provinces, and this in spite of the ceaseless drain imposed upon it for men and funds to recruit the legions on the Rhine frontier. Military service, indeed, did as much as anything to break down the barrier between Rome and her subjects in all parts of the empire; in none more than in Gaul.

§ 7. It has been said that Egypt was placed under a prefect, and so formed an exception to the rule of government either by a *Legatus Caesaris* or by a proconsul. This prefect was always a man of equestrian rank, and not an *eques splendidus*. The reason for this anomaly was that the food of Rome depended upon the supplies drawn thither from Alexandria. To have interrupted these supplies for a fortnight would have been to starve Rome. The provinces of Africa and Sicily furnished large quantities of corn; but Egypt was the real granary of the empire. It was moreover situated in a peculiarly defensive position, forming as it did the 'key of sea and land' between Asia and Africa. To have allowed one of the old nobles to obtain an ascendancy there would have been to risk a revolt, and Egypt, if not turbulent, was at least rich enough to maintain a lengthy struggle. Hence the choice of an equestrian prefect—a man usually of no claims to ascendancy; hence the harsh treatment of Gallus for his abuse of his office there; and hence, too, the jealous rule that no senator should visit Egypt without the express permission of the Princeps.

§ 8. How the great frontier-line of the north was formed and maintained has already been detailed. The great military camps became each in time a populous town—the centres of the trade and civilization of their respective districts, as they were of the great highways. Here the Germans learnt the art of war under Roman standards, and returned home carrying with them at least one element in civilization—that of order and discipline. Hereabouts settled the discharged legionary after his sixteen years of service, and so gradually occupied the soil with a Roman population. Public buildings sprang

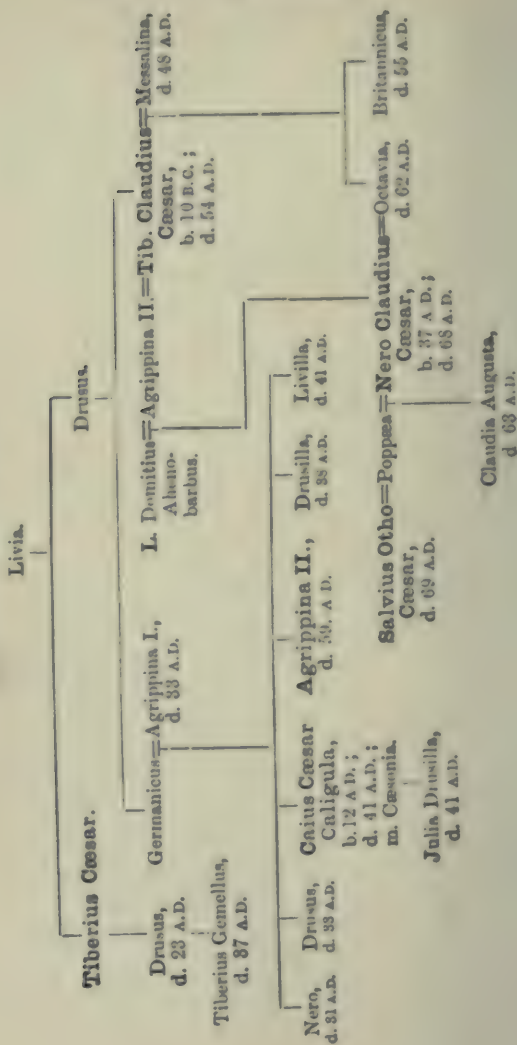
up as the governor and his adjutants emulated in the provinces the example of Caesar at home, and to this day the majority of the great strategic centres are busy and important towns. Beyond the border, as on the Euphrates, lay perhaps petty states which owned a sort of allegiance to Rome. One by one these lapsed to the conqueror by failure of the royal line or by testament, or forfeited their independence by revolt; but by that date the camps had become cities, well able to maintain their position shoulder to shoulder with the barbarians beyond. In Africa the nomad tribes showed little animosity. The Romans occupied the old domains of Carthage and Numidia, confining themselves to the coast in the main, and a new Carthage arose on the ruins of the old one; but the interior was left to the Gætulians and their fellows, and, unmolested, the latter were content to be tractable.

§ 9. The great roads which brought every part of their world within reach of the Romans remain to this day as the highways of trade. Each road was mapped out into sections, the names of its towns and villages entered in a gazetteer, and the distances accurately recorded. Moreover there were added particulars of each town, its size, trade, government, etc., and the whole compilation was known as the *Breviarium Imperii*—the masterpiece and symbol of Augustus' consolidated empire.

§ 10. The worship of Augustus, repressed at Rome—at least, so far as to forbid the erection of temples in his honour—flourished in the provinces. To Augustus the provincials owed peace and security, freedom from the horrors of a Verres' extortions, the revival of trade, agriculture, arts, and wealth. They regarded him as a *deus præsens*; and to his name, before and after death, they erected altars and temples in numbers. One such temple stood at Ancyra (Angora) in Lycaonia, and on its walls still remain the fragments of an inscription known as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. On this Augustus sets forth in Greek and in Latin the history of his doings as Princeps, the dates and characters of the honours decreed to him, his wars and conquests, his arrangements to secure

them, his colonies, his measures to aggrandize Rome, the temples he restored and the public buildings which he caused to be built, the largesses which he gave to his people and his legions, his revenues and expenditures, his fleets and forces—in a word, a succinct *résumé* of his life and work. To this, perhaps the most valuable monument of Roman archæology, we owe most of that certainty which we possess as regards the history of the first Princeps—a history which is but scantily recorded in the anecdotes of Suetonius and other writers, and has no historian of its own properly so called.

Genealogical Table.



CHAPTER VII.

14—17, A.D.

§ 1. Slight Interest of the Reign of Augustus as compared with that of Tiberius—§ 2. Peculiar Difficulties of Tiberius on the Demise of Augustus—§ 3. Diffidence of Tiberius; its Reasons—§ 4. His Estimate of his Position a Mistaken One—§ 5. First Acts of Tiberius; the Will of Augustus—§ 6. Deaths of Agrippa Postumus and Julia Major—§ 7. Disaffection in the Army; its Causes—§ 8. Result of the Pannonian and of (§ 9) the German Legions—§ 10. First and Second Campaigns of Germanicus—§ 11. Last Campaign and Recall of Germanicus.

§ 1. With the accession of Tiberius Roman history once again assumes something of that dramatic interest which characterizes the era of the Gracchi, of Cicero and of Cæsar. The reign of Augustus, brilliant as it was, and studded with illustrious names, is yet one of the least interesting epochs in authentic history; it is simply the narrative of the deeds of Augustus, and of no one else. The Princeps was too strong and too confident to allow of any rivals in the arena of public affairs. Agrippa and Mæcenas, Messala and Taurus, Marcellus, the young Agrippas, Livia and the two Julias, are all so many mutes in the monologue wherein Augustus is the actor. Scarcely any person in history is so little known in proportion to the position he filled as is Mæcenas. And it was the same with all the others. Augustus was the head of the world, and in him centred all interest, leaving none to spare for his surrounding court. And yet little as we know of a Mæcenas or a Livia, we know scarcely more of the *character* of Augustus. The years of his reign are mere annals without dramatic life; but the

times of Tiberius have come down to us chronicled in the pages of historians who were masters of character-sketching.

§ 2. Summoned to the deathbed of Augustus at Nola, Tiberius arrived to find himself, at the age of fifty-six years, the chosen successor of his deceased stepfather. The fact that he had been adopted into the family of Augustus was proof that, so far as one man's choice could decide, he was to be the heir to the principate. But the position was one of unusual difficulty. Hitherto there had been no such thing as succession to the position left vacant by Augustus' death. That position had been won by the merits of him who filled it, with the assent of nine-tenths of the world; and he had held it, with scrupulous punctilio, only as the servant of the state. Who, then, was to decide upon the course of events now that he was dead? The evils which had made his autocracy imperative were overpast; why not restore the republic, which had slumbered, not perished, under his rule? Or if autocracy must still endure, who was to appoint a second Princeps? By what right could Augustus, himself the servant of the state, devolve the government upon a person of his own choosing? And if his choice was not to be held valid, who was to name a successor? Did that power lie with the senate, or with the people, or with both? And finally, when that point was decided, there remained the most difficult problem of all—who should be chosen? Would the pride of the nobles brook any peaceful succession to that supremacy which Augustus had wielded by virtue of the sword? Would not the populace and armies alike set up their own favourite—possibly Germanicus, the son of Drusus? Last of all, what personal title had the adopted son of Augustus to the principate, the sterner stepson of a stern father, a mere general of more prowess and genius than popularity, not more noble than his fellows of the houses of Domitius, of Metellus, or of Cornelius?

§ 3. Of all these perplexities Tiberius was well aware. It may be questioned whether he really cared sufficiently for his inheritance to have asserted it by force, had necessity arisen. In his retirement to Rhodes he had shown that at any rate he did not care to play the rival in an old man's

affections to the young Agrippas. But whatever his own feelings, those of his mother were decided. She had been working towards this end for years; and now, when the reward of her efforts was within her reach, it found her fully prepared. She kept secret all news of the demise of Augustus, surrounding herself with guards of her own selection and ordering until Tiberius himself arrived to take over his rightful duties as son of the dead man and commander-in-chief of the entire military forces of Rome, by virtue of his proconsular imperium. The course of events now rested with him rather than with her.

But Tiberius showed no rash haste—indeed, no eagerness—in asserting himself as Princeps. He was well aware how much Julius had lost, how much Augustus had gained, by contempt for, or deference towards, the forms of constitutional law. Augustus had, indeed, reached the throne by the help of the sword, but his seat thereon had been ratified and determined by the senate in conclave. There was no excuse for violence now if the senate would but show itself as amenable as before. Tiberius accordingly summoned that body to decide what honours should be done to the dead man. That point settled, their thoughts naturally turned to his successor. Tiberius expressed no wish for empire. If they would have him as their Emperor, he was ready to do his best; if they desired to follow any other course, he was indifferent. The senators devolved upon Tiberius by regular process all the powers and privileges of the late Princeps, and so established the double precedent that the nomination of an Emperor rested with themselves, and that the validity of an Emperor's title was secured by the *Lex Regia*, the Act by which they ratified their choice.

§ 4. As a matter of fact, Tiberius' hesitation to thrust himself forward had little real ground. It was due to the apprehension that Rome was anxious to restore once more the government of the senate and comitia. But Rome had no such desire. The populace, as a whole, gained too much by the new government to wish for a reversion to the alternate aristocratic jobbery and mob-rule of the later republic. The provinces supported the principate heart and soul, and with far better cause. The army was

not yet prepared to disregard the oath by which it had tendered allegiance to the partner of Augustus' powers, and, in great part, it even loved Tiberius, whose brilliant services in Asia, in Pannonia, and in Germany, had upheld the honour of Rome without reverse. Germanicus was a possible, but far from a probable rival; and the same was true of Drusus, the son of Tiberius by Julia, and so grandson of Augustus. But the good sense of Rome was not yet so utterly dead that the merit earned by thirty years of indefatigable service had no claims in her eyes. What Tiberius feared was that stubborn aristocracy of blood which Julius had sought to repress by sternness and Augustus by diplomacy. Yet there was no one of them all who could have ventured to assert himself; not one who had at his command anything worthy of the name of a party; and all were so jealous of their equality that they would have preferred to submit to the supremacy of Tiberius, with its show of claim, however slight, rather than to that of any of their own number—all equally proud, but all equally reduced to acknowledging the late Emperor as their superior.

§ 5. The first act of the new Princeps was to publish and execute the will of Augustus. Continual advances to the *ærarium* had so far drained the purse of the Caesar that his property was found to be of no extraordinary amount. Nevertheless, he directed large legacies to be paid to the people, the thirty-five tribes, the prætorians, urban-guards, and legionaries, the latter of whom received 300 sesterces each. Personal friends received further testimonies of his good-will; and the balance of his estate was divided between Tiberius and Livia, the latter receiving one-third. The funeral was conducted with due pomp, although Tiberius interfered to prevent an excessive show of adulation, saying that he did not wish his own private sorrows to be a burden to his people. In a similar spirit he declined many of the compliments which the senate hastened to lavish upon himself, and while accepting the title of Augusta for his mother, refused to accept for her the designation of *Mater Patriæ*. For Germanicus he asked the proconsular imperium; his own son Drusus

he was content to see consul-designate for the ensuing year.

§ 6. The commencement of the reign was shadowed by the death of Agrippa Postumus, the youngest and 'brutish' son of Agrippa. He had been imprisoned for some years in the island of Planasia, near Elba, seemingly because of his open disregard for that higher morality which Augustus had striven to inculcate by his own example. On the very day of his grandfather's death, a centurion, acting on orders brought by Sallustius Crispus, executed the prisoner. From whom the order came can never be known. Probably Livia was answerable for it. A few months later occurred an event which, had it happened sooner, would have amply justified such a measure; and it is possible that Livia, or even Augustus, was aware of a conspiracy* which aimed at setting up such a despicable claimant as a candidate for the principate, for there is a story that the latter gave orders to have his prisoner removed at the instant of his own death. We only know that no inquiry was made into the murder, although Tiberius, on receiving news that 'what he had ordered was done,' emphatically denied having given such an order, and threatened that a public investigation should be held. In the same year died the elder Julia, the banished wife of Tiberius. Her death, like that of Agrippa, is unhesitatingly laid to the charge of Tiberius by both Tacitus and Suetonius; but there is no evidence for the statement, and even if it were true, the fact of her having once intrigued against a strong and settled government is ample excuse for severer measures on the part of a new ruler, whose position was, as yet, insecure.

§ 7. But men's attention was soon turned upon the more menacing attitude of the legions. The news of the death of Augustus had been marked by a brief relaxation of discipline in the camps of the three legions which garrisoned Pannonia. Brief as the respite was, it gave time for the slumbering discontent of the veterans to awake. The maintenance of his enormous army had been not the

* There seems to be as much likelihood for the existence of such a conspiracy as for those which are alleged to have centred round the two Julias, one of whom was the mother, the other a sister, of Agrippa Postumus.

smallest of Augustus' anxieties, and the merely financial difficulties of the question had been complicated more than once by mutinous murmurings at the long service and slight rewards of the defenders of the frontiers. The largesses which had been the expected rights of the legionaries under the command of a Pompeius, an Antonius, or an Octavian, who depended each entirely upon his army, were no longer practicable. There were no more Alexandrias to sack, no more rivals whose offers must be outbidden at any cost. The service was reduced to a monotonous garrison duty in the face of the enemy, varied only by profitless incursions into regions never rich, and long since drained of their scanty booty in previous campaigns. Yearly the difficulty of recruiting the ranks for so uninviting a service became greater, and in place of Italians, the legions were filled by Gauls, Pannonians, Asiatics—even Germans and other peoples as yet unconquered. A veteran became too valuable to be lost, and the old practice of granting early discharge was evaded upon any plausible excuse. Sixteen years was the nominal limit of service exacted by Augustus; but, in fact, it extended even to forty years, and even if discharge was ostensibly granted at an earlier date, the soldier was not suffered to leave the cantonments, but was retained *sub vexillo*—a kind of reserve-man, freed indeed from the more arduous duties of the common private, but still without any tangible reward for his labours. The few who were so fortunate as to obtain such rewards received not money, or the grant of rich lands in Italy, but uninviting allotments near the frontiers—'scraps of marsh and mountain'—which offered little of rest and ease to their owners. All these grievances were intensified by the contrast offered in the case of the prætorian guards. They enjoyed the sun and pleasures of Rome; they had no enemies to chastise or to guard against day and night; their discharge came without fail at the close of the sixteenth year; and their pay for such trifling toils as they endured was double that of the hard-worked legionary. In a word, they were the pampered and useless pets of an Emperor who allowed his real defenders to starve and toil unrewarded.

§ 8. The three Pannonian legions, headed by one Percen-

nus, an old hanger-on of the Roman theatres, maltreated their officers, refused to obey orders, and were with difficulty persuaded to refrain from more violent measures while representatives could be despatched to Rome to lay their claims before the new Princeps. Tiberius' position was critical. The mutineers must be disarmed at all costs, and that too before their disaffection could spread. There was indeed one element of safety in that the Pannonian legions had no high born or ambitious leader round whom to rally; but in Germany there were eight legions who idolized Germanicus it was said, and he was connected by marriage with that disaffected house of which came Postumus and the Julias. And at Rome there was the 'wolf which Tiberius held by the ears,' the turbulent nobility; and there was no Agrippa or Mæcenæ in whose hands to leave the home-government while himself was absent. The Princeps could not leave the city in person. He despatched his son Drusus with as large a body of prætorians and urban-guards as could be spared, and bade him stay by timely concessions the spread of disaffection. For a moment it seemed that even his birth and rank would not avail Drusus. He was stoned and insulted, and on the point of abandoning his mission, when an eclipse of the moon intervened. The mutineers, already alarmed at their own violence, saw therein the displeasure of the gods they had forsworn. They threw themselves on the mercy of Drusus, and he punished them with that sharp steel for which he was a proverb.

§ 9. At the same moment the greater part of the Rhine-guard rose in mutiny. Four legions, the garrison of Lower Germany, whose headquarters were among the Ubii, defied their commander, the legate A. Cæcina, and made the same demands as their confrères in Pannonia. Here the sedition was fomented by the rabble of undisciplined townsmen and slaves with whom Augustus had recruited the German army after the disaster of Varus, and the situation was the more dangerous from the readiness of the German tribes to take instant advantage of the troubles of their enemies and cross the Rhine. Even Gaul was disaffected, worn out and weary of incessant military service, conscriptions, and im-

posts. Germanicus, commander-in-chief of the entire force, was absent at Lugdunum, where he was revising the census-lists and administering the oath of allegiance to the provincials on behalf of the new ruler. He hurried instantly to the camp, and his presence for a moment checked the outbreak. But on his proceeding to harangue the men, and mentioning the legacy by which Augustus had acknowledged their deserts, he was met with fresh insult, and was constrained to pay down on the spot double that amount, collected as best might be from his own purse and those of his officers. Even then he was unable to restore discipline, and despairing of safety, despatched his wife Agrippina and her infant son Caius to find what shelter they could with the Treviri. Agrippina was a favourite with the men, and her son—it was here he won his name of Caligula*—was the pet of the legions. Sentiment prevailed where menace and argument had failed. The troops returned to their duties, and left Germanicus free to deal with the army of the upper province.

Stationed about *Castra Vetera* (*Xanten*), two legions of that army had listened to the overtures of their fellows and were giving palpable signs of defection. But Germanicus now felt himself strong in the loyalty of the reclaimed legions. He did not hesitate to advance as if to do battle with the recalcitrant forces; and the stern measures of Silius, their *legatus*, who suddenly cut down the ringleaders, co-operated with him in securing the allegiance of the remainder.

§ 10. To prevent idleness from still further demoralizing these legions, and to afford them at the same time the opportunity of wiping out by fresh glories the stain of their insubordination, Germanicus at once crossed the Rhine and advanced into the heart of Germany. The experiences of Drusus and Tiberius had shown how little was to be gained by such aggressions; those of Lollius and Varus had shown how much might be lost. But Germanicus was young and eager, ambitious perhaps to show that a province might still be occupied beyond the Rhine; and he had the ready excuse that the death of Varus and his legionaries was as

* From *caliga*, a military boot. This child lived to be the mad Emperor, 37-41 A.D.

yet not atoned for. Disregarding the dying injunctions of Augustus, wherein he bade Tiberius use his legions to maintain rather than to extend the power of Rome, the pro-consul attacked the Marsi, crushed them by the suddenness of his onslaught, and turning northwards towards the Bructeri and Usipetes, with difficulty brought back his army intact. No actual success was achieved; rather, a dangerous and implacable enemy had been roused afresh. Nevertheless, the senate decreed a triumph to Germanicus, and the advocacy of Tiberius may have been prompted by the desire to conciliate the legions by the show of appreciation. Thus encouraged, Germanicus again assumed the aggressive in the year 15 A.D. While he himself attacked the Chatti in the north, Cæcina advanced from *Castra Vetera* upon the Cherusci, now disorganized by the quarrels of Segestes and Arminius. The former at once sided with the invaders, and delivered up to their keeping Thusnelda, the wife of his nephew, and numerous other defenceless hostages. Returning from this expedition, Cæcina heard that Inguomerus, heretofore an ally of the Romans, had once again arrayed himself on the side of Arminius; he received orders to strike eastwards at once to the *Amisia* (*Ems*), where his column was joined by that of Germanicus, which had reached the same spot by water. Successful as the actual movement was, it effected nothing of real value. The ill-omened *Saltus Teutoburgensis* was revisited, and the bones of the victims of Arminius' treachery were duly buried; but that chieftain all but repeated his former triumph, and the legions of Cæcina were compelled to fight desperately for their return. Rumour had even reported their utter loss when they reappeared at the bridge by *Castra Vetera*, which Agrippina's confidence alone had saved from being cut under the influence of panic. Germanicus himself, returning by the way of his advance, lost many men in the sudden inrush of the tide over the low marsh-lands of the lower Elbe.

§ 11. In the year 16 A.D. occurred the last effort to subjugate the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe. Six legions were moved, as in the preceding year, by way of the *Lacus Flevo* (*Zuyder Zee*) and the northern coasts, to

the mouth of the Amisia, and thence struck into the interior. On reaching the Visurgis (*Weser*) they were met by the entire force of the German confederacy under Arminius, and were compelled to force the passage of the river. Once across, they were beset on all sides, and a stubborn battle left the Romans in possession of the field. Yet the victory could not have been very decisive, for further advance was still contested, and no tangible result had been obtained when the column at last wheeled about and retired. Indeed, the boasting language of the Romans which claims the subjugation of the north finds its best commentary in the fact that the wrecking of many of Germanicus' transport ships off the north coast at once aroused the tribes to fresh efforts. Still, the campaign ended without further disaster; but whatever dreams of future success Germanicus may have entertained were thwarted by his recall to Rome to act as consul in the year 18 A.D. Whether another campaign would have finally conquered the Germans, and planted the Roman legions on the Elbe, may be questioned. That had been the motive for the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius—a purpose which, if accomplished, would have shortened by many hundreds of miles the immense frontier-line of the empire, and by diminishing its extent, would have consolidated its strength. But loth as he was to confess it, even Tiberius saw the futility of the attempt, and had full cause for recalling Germanicus before his rashness could bring upon Rome another disaster like that of Varus. There was still, perhaps, a possibility that peaceful intercourse would effect what force could not achieve. Moreover, it was contrary to the policy of Augustus to leave one general long in command of the same army; and the reproach of jealousy with which his recall of Germanicus was greeted is unjustifiable. Discretion and policy alike advised it, and the presence of Germanicus was needed elsewhere. Had jealousy been the motive for his recall he would scarcely have been at once entrusted with the Asiatic commission which was now thrust upon him.

CHAPTER VIII.

17—23, A.D.

§ 1. Treason at Rome ; Clemens ; Libo Drusus—§ 2. Annexation of Cappadocia—§ 3. Fall of Maroboduus and of Arminius—§ 4. Germanicus settles the Affairs of Asia—§ 5. Tacfarinas and Rhescaporis—§ 6. Conduct of Cn. Piso ; Death of Germanicus—§ 7. Rebellion and Trial of Piso—§ 8. Criticism of the Relations of Tiberius, Piso, and Germanicus—§ 9. Character and Advancement of Sejanus—§ 10. The Revolt of Florus and Sacrovir—§ 11. Drusus receives the *Tribunitia Potestas* ; Impeachments at Rome.

§ 1. The most moderate of rulers might have looked with suspicion on Germanicus, for the mutinous Rhine armies had hailed him as their chief and shouted aloud their readiness to conduct him to Rome and put him upon the throne of the Cæsars if he would but give the word. His tact or his good sense enabled him to treat as they deserved such traitorous suggestions, but the event may well have led to additional precautions on the part of Tiberius, the more as treason was indisputably at work in Italy itself. In the very year of the execution of Postumus that measure received its justification in the conspiracy of one Clemens, a freedman, whose resemblance to the son of Agrippa led him into the position of a pretender. For some months he moved mysteriously from town to town, carefully avoiding all close examination, and industriously spreading the report that Agrippa had never been executed, but survived in himself to claim the throne. Tiberius was too cautious to draw attention to the matter by any show of alarm or violence. His emissaries, by pretending to support Clemens, drew him into their power, and he was privately put to death, 16 A.D. But in the very same year Libo Drusus, a member of the Scribonian *gens*, a relative of

Augustus' first wife, was brought to trial before the senate on the charge of conspiracy. For upwards of a year Tiberius, it is said, had been aware that the culprit was indulging in dreams of empire, and consulting astrologers with designs as sinister as silly. Nevertheless, he bestowed upon him various marks of honour, including the praetorship. But Libo the more confidently continued in his folly, and was at last arrested by the consuls on the information of Fulcinius Trio, a delator of unenviable notoriety, who demanded a trial before the senators. Disgust might have led Tiberius to make an example of a conspirator whose prosecution was brought on by his fellow-nobles; but, in fact, the event forestalled him. Libo committed suicide before his case was completed, and Tiberius could only express regret that the culprit had not waited to be pardoned. He has gained no credit for his expressed regrets; but it may be noticed that Fulcinius was forced to suicide twenty years later; that Firmino Cato, the false friend who first whispered to the Princeps his suspicions of Libo, was driven into exile within eight years; and that the senators and consuls alone were responsible for the commencement and result of the trial.

§ 2. In 17 A.D. Germanicus triumphed over 'the Angri-varii* and all other tribes as far as the Elbe;' so carefully did public ostentation at home conceal the reality of foreign events. The good auspices of Tiberius were honoured by the erection of a triumphal arch, and a liberal largess gratified the populace, coming as it did from a Princeps who did not conceal his contempt for the shows and games which Augustus had lavishly maintained. The public contentment was further heightened by the reduction of the tax on sales† to one-half of the previous amount, a step rendered possible to an impoverished exchequer by the annexation of Cappadocia. Archelaus, the vassal king of that country, had shown signs of contumacy towards Tiberius' government, and had been summoned to Rome in order to stand his trial before the senate. A Roman procurator, possibly of the neighbouring province of Cilicia, was implicated in the

* This was the one tribe which actually made submission to the Romans after the last campaign of Germanicus.

† See pp. 41, 52.

charge; but the trial ended in an acquittal. Archelaus died, however, in the course of the year, from disgust or apprehension. The organization of the new province was entrusted to Germanicus, who left Rome at the close of the year for Asia; Drusus left at the same time to take the command of the Pannonian legions.

§ 3. The withdrawal of the Romans from beyond the Rhine (16 A.D.) had left Arminius at liberty to deal with his rival Maroboduus, chief of the Marcomanni. The latter, finding himself worsted and unpopular because of his Romanising policy, appealed for aid to Tiberius. The Pannonian legions were accordingly instructed to protect him, and did so as far as Arminius was concerned. But the Princeps, in accordance with his regular policy, contrived to foment intrigues against Maroboduus, as a dangerous neighbour; and in 18 A.D. that prince was driven out by Catualla, a brother chieftain. He was granted an asylum at Ravenna, where he died in 36 A.D. Arminius, now the most powerful chief in Germany, forgot his patriotism in his ascendancy. He fell into disfavour, struggled for some time against his enemies, and was finally assassinated about 21 A.D. One of his tribesmen had offered to remove him by poison if Tiberius wished it; and that Emperor had replied by quoting the case of Pyrrhus and his treacherous physician. He argued, doubtless, that it was best to let well alone—to leave the Germans to themselves while they would permit it.

§ 4. Germanicus reached Asia at the commencement of the year 18 A.D., when he also entered upon his consulship. He had been entrusted with powers equal to those exercised by Agrippa on his mission to the same quarter,* and proceeded at once to arrange for the relations of Rome with Armenia and Parthia. Those countries had been the scene of continual revolutions since the interference of Gaius Caesar, 3 A.D. The Tigranes whom Gaius had set upon the Armenian throne had been succeeded by various princes of short-lived authority, and even by a princess named Erato. To her succeeded Vonones, that son of Phraates whom Augustus had retained at Rome as a hos-

* See p. 79.

tage,* and who, after the death of his father, had for awhile held the sceptre of Parthia. Like Maroboduus however he had disgusted his subjects by his parade of Roman habits, and a sudden rising had resulted in his expulsion in favour of Artabanus, a Median prince. He sought refuge in Armenia at the moment when that country was in a state of anarchy, and was accepted as their prince by its people. But Artabanus followed up his first success by attacking him in his new kingdom; and when Silanus, Prefect of Syria, seized Vonones, and retained him in custody within the Roman frontiers, matters were doubly complicated by the indignation of the Armenians and the disappointment of Artabanus. At this moment Germanicus arrived. With skilful diplomacy he calmed the feelings of both parties. Artabanus he gratified by removing his ex-ri- val to a safer distance; the Armenians were persuaded that they could dispense with his rule, and allowed Germanicus to crown Zeno, son of Polemo of Pontus,* as their king. In the following year Vonones endeavoured to escape from the honorary custody in which he was held, was captured, and cut down by one of his pursuers.

The remainder of the year was occupied by Germanicus in the settlement of Commagene, whose prince, Antiochus III., had died in the previous year; and of the territories of Philopater, a prince of Cilicia, left vacant from the same cause and date. The two principalities were now combined under the government of a prætor. Cappadocia was now organized as a Cæsarian province, and some abatement was made in the tributes of Judæa and Syria.

§ 5. The preceding year (17 A.D.) was marked by the first appearance of Tacfarinas, yet another example of the manner in which promiscuous recruiting redounded to the damage of the Roman arms. This man, long a soldier in the Roman service, deserted, and put himself at the head of the Musulami, a nomad tribe of the interior, and commenced a series of forays upon the Roman province. Heretofore, Africa had been remarkable for its quietude, and the exploits of Tacfarinas attained from that cause possibly more lustre than they merited. The proconsul,

* See p. 14.

Furius Camillus, gained such successes over him however with the small force of one legion—the sole garrison of Africa—that he claimed, and was allowed, the *insignia triumphalis*. After the accession of Tiberius there was no such honour as a triumph for any but a member of the Caesar's house. Other conquerors could aspire only to the honour now bestowed upon Camillus—an honour whose chief substance was the privilege of wreathing with bays the bust of him who obtained it. Scarcely more important were the events by which Thrace passed virtually under prætorian control, in the year 18 A.D. On the death of Rhæmetalces, 12 A.D., his territories had been divided between his son and heir, Cotys, and his brother, Rhescuporis. The latter, a man of more ambitious temperament, had received only the more sterile regions of Thrace as his inheritance; and he at once proceeded to intrigue against his nephew, whom he at length got into his power, despite the warnings of Tiberius, who claimed suzerainty over the kingdom. The latter now ordered the instant release of Cotys, and Rhescuporis, to avoid compliance, put that prince to death, on the plea that he was guilty of conspiracy. For this he was summoned to Rome to defend his action, and, being condemned, was banished to Alexandria, where he was shortly afterwards put to death. Thrace was divided between his son, Rhæmetalces II., and the sons of Cotys, for all of whom Trebellienus Rufus was named guardian and regent.

¶ 6. Having completed his year's labours in Asia, Germanicus indulged in a tour of the coast, extending as far as Egypt. It has been mentioned that that country was jealously guarded by Augustus. Tiberius was equally jealous of its security, and was not slow to remind Germanicus that his visit without express permission was a breach of law. But the slight displeasure of the Princes caused less annoyance to his adopted son than did the continued impertinence of Cnæus Piso, proconsul of Syria, who had superseded Silanus at the same time that Germanicus entered Asia. He was the very type of that nobility of birth which vexed the peace of the Emperor, and his wife, Plancina, a warm friend of Augusta and

confident in such friendship, encouraged him in every way to assert his high-born superiority to the 'Vipsanian puddle' in the veins of Augustus' grandson. When directed to move a military force towards Armenia, 18 A.D., Piso ignored the order; and he followed up this passive contumacy by active insults during the winter months, when he stigmatized Germanicus as a very Persian in his manners, and set himself studiously to win the demoralized legions of Syria from their attachment to the young Caesar. Plancina too exercised a woman's spite in her behaviour towards Agrippina, who had accompanied her husband to the East. All this Germanicus bore at first with indulgence, then with tolerance; but on returning from Egypt he was so incensed at length that he ordered Piso at once to quit his province. Before the latter had done so he heard that his superior had fallen sick, and waited for further events, compromising himself by the vindictive jealousy with which he crushed all show of gladness on the part of the provincials at the receipt of better news. Such covert hostility naturally led to scandal; and when Germanicus died at the close of the year, his friends were more than suspicious that Piso had resorted to the services of one Martina, a female poisoner and constant companion of his wife.

The news of Germanicus' varying health, and the supposed reason of his illness, was feverishly awaited in Rome; and when at length it was known that the end had come, all classes vied with each other in their expressions of grief. The arrival of Agrippina and her children, bringing the ashes of the dead man, was the signal for an outburst of affectionate sympathy which followed their steps from Brundisium to Rome. Alone amongst all, Livia and Tiberius showed no public signs of mourning, and the people eagerly set their coldness down to that jealousy which, they said, had recalled Germanicus in the moment of his success from Germany. All clamoured aloud that Piso should appear and clear himself of suspicion.

§ 7. That officer had at last quitted Syria on the receipt of more abrupt orders from his rival's sick-bed; but he withdrew no further than the island of Cos. There he

learned of Germanicus' decease, and instantly returned to Syria. The command had devolved upon one Sentius, who prepared at once to enforce the order for Piso's expulsion. The latter endeavoured to raise a military force, and was joined by a few detachments which Sentius speedily compelled to retire into the uplands of Cilicia. There he besieged Piso in Celenderis, and compelled him at length to surrender and quit Asia unconditionally. He returned to Rome, and on his arrival was at once impeached. Amongst his accusers were some of the most intimate of Germanicus' friends; his own supporters, on the other hand, were numerous, and they used their best efforts to secure a trial before Tiberius in person. The Princes declined to be judge. He preferred to let the nobles treat their comrade at their pleasure, merely declaring that the real question was not whether Piso had poisoned Germanicus, which he pronounced to be absurd, but whether he had been guilty of treason and military insubordination. The trial was abruptly terminated by the suicide of the defendant before the completion of his defence. The senators expunged his name from the *Fasti*, and were only prevented by the interference of Tiberius from confiscating his property.

§ 8. The death of Germanicus was put down to the actual orders of Tiberius by after ages. The people adored Agrippa's son, whose military exploits in the North, they said, inflamed Tiberius' jealousy. Piso had been purposely selected as a bitter foe to accompany him to Asia, and had even received secret orders to compass his death by whatever means. But the whole story is absurd. Tiberius, if he felt any jealousy for Germanicus, concealed it well. He might have retained him inactive at home, had such been his feelings, instead of honouring him with every mark of confidence, and placing at his disposal the entire resources of the eastern parts of the empire. To recall Silanus was consistent with the policy which forbade the same officer to retain the same command for many years together. To select Piso was perhaps a necessity, for Piso was too distinguished to be left without the indulgence of a proconsulate: it was politic, for he might serve as a useful

counterpoise to the incautious enthusiasm of Germanicus. Of the two, Piso was indubitably more distasteful to Tiberius; but Plancina was a favourite of Augusta, to whose wishes the Princeps always yielded. To have purposely set up Piso to run Germanicus to death would have been to raise up the 'wolf whose ears he held' at the expense of his own kinsman. That Germanicus died of poison is a foolish tale. Chagrin, perhaps, aggravated a constitutional weakness. Tiberius did not seriously mourn for the dead man because he had little positive love for the child of his abandoned wife. He did not love Piso either, but he gave him every opportunity for a fair trial before his peers—a trial which he would not face—and the charge which he pressed was not that of murder, for which there could now be no proof or disproof, but that of insubordination. Piso had tampered with the sword which was Caesar's only; he had endeavoured to maintain himself by force of arms in his province; he had defied the authority of a Caesar. Had he been a plebeian such an offence would have cost him his life; that he was of the very bluest of the disaffected blue blood of Rome lent an unpardonable weight to a fatal offence.

In Germanicus Tiberius lost his ablest general, one who might have rivalled Agrippa or Drusus had he lived. He had already proved his loyalty in the revolt of Germany; experience might have given him discretion. But the days of conquest were for the present over, and there was small field left for the prince whom his countrymen compared with Alexander. He was more than a soldier, something of a *littérateur*, and fond of the peaceful arts; and it was his frank affability that endeared him to the Romans by its contrast with the nervous reserve of Tiberius.

§ 9. It is now time to speak of the man whose influence guided most of the actions of Tiberius during the next decade. It has been mentioned as part of the policy of Augustus to keep about his court the leading nobles of Rome by entrusting them with various duties of an importance only apparent, while in more serious matters he relied, at least during their lifetime, upon Agrippa and Mæcenas. He was thus enabled to relieve himself of much

of the routine duties of the principate, while bestowing a compliment upon his assistants. Tiberius made the mistake of attempting to dispense with such assistance, and to grasp in his single hand the whole enormous mass of business which was the Emperor's inheritance. His reason was doubtless, in part, mistrust of the nobility, and in part a nervous shyness, which preferred any amount of fatigue to intercourse with men of his own grade. But he must also have the credit of an earnest desire to do his duty, and to act on the proverb that 'there is no eye like the master's'; and if he failed in acting up to that maxim, he is rather to be respected for the effort than blamed for its non-success. He applied himself for years to a ceaseless round of business, rarely leaving the city, and even for two whole years never finding opportunity leaving the palace. But the strain was too great; and when .Elius Sejanus, a man of no ostensible rank or blood, showed himself possessed of the will and the talents for relieving the Princeps, the latter could, without inconsistency, find advantage in the opportunity, and make a confidant of one underling where many notables would have been an intolerable annoyance. And Sejanus was admirably fitted for the part which he played. Talented he certainly was, but this was his one virtue; of unbounded ambition, yet capable of waiting for years for his opportunity: without a conscience, as keen to see what others concealed as clever in hiding his own secrets, the prince of hypocrites, he wormed himself into the confidence of his master with a perseverance which shirked no labours and shrank from no crime. His father was a Roman *Eques* only, but on his mother's side he claimed descent from the Etruscan *lumines* of his birth-place Volsinii. From the very outset of the reign he attached himself to the Princeps, and now, 20 A.D., was already a recognised power in the government, and able, by the mere weight of his name, to secure for his uncle, Junius Blæsus, the proconsulate of Africa, where Tacfarinas still evaded capture. Blæsus achieved successes in the course of the two following years for which he was allowed to accept the title of *imperator* from his legion—a distinction which none but a Cæsar ever

afterwards attained ; but it was not until 24 A.D. that Tacfarinas was finally defeated and killed by Dolabella.

§ 10. Meantime, the indulgence which had suffered so many fruitless and costly campaigns on the Rhine was brought to account by a revolt of Gaul. That nation was filled with clients of the great Julius, men trained in the Roman service, well aware of the panic which Varus' overthrow had produced at Rome, and of the recent disloyalty of the legions of the Rhine frontier. A widespread conspiracy was headed by the Treveri and the Ælui, the ring-leaders being Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir, a Druid. The youths of the whole nation, collected at Augustodunum (*Autun*) to pursue a Roman education, were secretly armed, and it was only the impetuosity of some of the smaller tribes which prevented a serious and simultaneous rising. As it was, the outbreak occurred piecemeal, and C. Silius, the legate of the province, was able to crush it in detail, assisted by treachery among the northern confederates of Florus. The southern confederacy gave battle a few miles to the north of Augustodunum, and was utterly routed. Both leaders fell fighting to the last with a handful of followers ; and Sacrovir, that not even his corpse should fall into the hands of his foes, fired the house in which he was surrounded, and so perished, 21 A.D. Unlike Augustus, Tiberius made no attempt to visit the scene of action in person, even in the character of a pacifier. That duty was left to Silius, who carried it out with a severity which spared neither the loyal nor the disaffected. The rebellion had no results. As a protest against the endless exactions of men, horses, money, and supplies for the German campaigns, it came too late. Those campaigns were ended ; and the trouble must be regarded rather as a legacy left over from the reign of Augustus than as due to Tiberius' policy.

§ 11. The only notable event of 22 A.D. was the advancement of Drusus to partnership in the *Tribunitia Potestas* with his father. The young prince was not popular. He showed something of that brutality which had ruined Agrippa Postumus, and was notorious for his intemperance and delight in bloodshed. Nevertheless, the senate wel-

came his rising star with a servile adulation which was, of course, extended to the Emperor in person. The 'assembly of kings' had become an assembly of slaves. It was useless for Tiberius to maintain that regard which Augustus had shown for the dignity of the Order when the senators themselves trampled it under foot.

In the same year C. Silanus, the late Proconsul of Asia, brought to trial for extortion, was condemned to exile by the senate. Tiberius declined however to send him to the barren rock of Gyarus, and substituted a less desolate spot. For similar malversation in the Cyrenaica, Cæsius Cordus was condemned; but Tiberius refused to allow the prosecution of L. Ennius, who was accused of *majestas* in that he had converted into plate a silver statue of the Princeps. Such trivial charges had become the common-places of the delators, though Tiberius showed a sensible contempt for them. Even in the first year of his reign two knights had been arraigned, the one for perjury by the name of Augustus, the other for daring to sell, together with a garden, the statue of that Emperor which stood therein; and Granius Marcellus had been indicted on the double charge of extortion and *majestas*, having forsooth dared to substitute the head of Tiberius for that of Augustus upon a statue of the latter Emperor. The two former cases Tiberius dismissed with the remark that Augustus had not been deified in order to be a snare to his people, and that the Gods could avenge their own wrongs. The charge of *majestas* was quashed in the case of Granius, and proceedings taken on that of *repulunda* alone. Again, in 17 A.D., he declined to hear the case of Apuleia Varilla, who was indicted for libelling both himself and Augustus, suffering the senate however to proceed with a charge of immorality under the provisions of the Julian laws. The senate, however, found an opportunity for their own disgrace while Tiberius was taking repose in Campania during the year 21 A.D., when Clutorius Priscus was arraigned and executed for having composed a funeral panegyric in honour of the still living Drusus. Tiberius gently rebuked their excess of zeal, and ordered ten days' respite to intervene

henceforth between the condemnation and execution of any defendant in the senatorial court. These instances are here collected as examples of Tiberius' behaviour during the first portion of his reign, which it has been usual to consider ended with the year 23 A.D.

CHAPTER IX.

23-37, A.D.

§ 1. Sejanus centralizes the Praetorians; his Designs—§ 2. He destroys Drusus the Elder—§ 3. Position and Character of Agrippina; Sejanus attacks her Friends—§ 4. Tiberius withdraws to Caprese—§ 5. Death of Crematius Cordus; Other Impeachments—§ 6. Tiberius' Withdrawal a Natural Result of Autocracy—§ 7. Opinion of the Romans; Disasters at Rome—§ 8. Revolt of the Frisii; Deaths of Julia and Livia; Character of Livia—§ 9. Renewed Activity of Sejanus; Falls of Agrippina, Nero, and Drusus the Younger—§ 10. Conspiracy and Fall of Sejanus—§ 11. Punishment of his Partisans; The Reign of Terror—§ 12. Examples of Tiberius' Better Side; The Senate responsible for the Cruelties of the Time—§ 13. Affairs in Parthia and Armenia—§ 14. Death of Tiberius.

§ 1. In that year (23 A.D.) Sejanus, now prefect of the city as well as of the praetorians, obtained permission to centralize those troops in one camp. Heretofore they had been quartered in bodies in and around the city; now they were collected to their full complement of 9,000 men in permanent quarters on the outer side of the old wall of Servius, between the Viminal and Colline Gates. Here Sejanus treated them with an indulgence which bound the entire force to his own interest, and thus felt himself strong enough to proceed with his ambitious designs.

These designs were nothing less than the seizure of the principate for himself. But he was too discerning a man to imagine that any claims of his own would be listened to while there yet remained anyone of the blood of the Caesars or of Agrippa. That he was no favourite with the people he well knew, and if he was to rule at all, it must be by the sword of the praetoriana. A *coup* was, however, as yet out of the question: there were too many to claim

the suffrages of the Romans even if Tiberius were removed. Sejanus set himself to get rid of those rival claimants, and his first victim was Drusus, Tiberius' only child and heir.

§ 2. That prince had been retained at Rome for several years, taking no decided part in public business. He was married to Livilla, by whom he had two children; and through her Sejanus made his attack. He found little difficulty in seducing the wife, and next persuading her to take her husband's life. Slow poison effected his design, and Drusus died 23 A.D., apparently of a natural decline, leaving the Princeps without a direct heir.

§ 3. More formidable to Sejanus' prospects were the children and partisans of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. These children were originally nine in number, but there survived now but three of the sons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius. Whatever the failings of the family of Agrippina—and they had failings—they commanded an affection which the populace had never extended to the son of their Emperor. Tiberius had publicly declared the two elder sons to be the successors to his own dead son's place. Moreover, there were many nobles and men of influence on the side of Agrippina, men who had stood by her in the arraignment of Piso, and who lauded her as the pattern of all Roman virtue. There is reason to doubt whether their praises were altogether merited; if it were so, then she was a remarkable contrast to the Julias, her mother and sister. That Tiberius had little love for her is certain; but he had no cause to love the brood of his infamous wife, the less as they were the children of another father. Nevertheless, Sejanus dared not attack her directly. He set in motion the delators who sought to win his favour no less sedulously than that of the Princeps; and by their means he ventured to assail a cousin of Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra. Accused of immorality, she was condemned; and Sejanus had the double gratification of seeing himself within reach of even nearer kinsmen, and of knowing that Agrippina's rage vented itself upon Tiberius, and so increased the Princeps' dislike (26 A.D.). Another victim was Silius, the same who had suppressed the revolt of Sacrovir. His exactions from the reconquered Gauls were sufficient

grounds for his condemnation; but Sejanus found additional incentive in the fact that he was high in the favour of Agrippina, under whose husband he had served on the Rhine. Other impeachments followed, and rumours of treason were perpetually whispered in the ears of Tiberius.

§ 4. In the year 26 A.D. the Princeps left Rome ostensibly to perform some public ceremonies in Campania. He never returned. The following year saw him take up his residence permanently in the island of Capreae, immediately opposite to the promontory of Misenum. Report said that it was fear of treachery which induced him thus to withdraw himself from the reach of his subjects. A more likely reason was the wish for repose, sufficiently reasonable in one who had toiled so ceaselessly up to his sixty-eighth year; and in Sejanus he seemed to leave behind him a fit minister to conduct less important business. It is certain that Sejanus encouraged the design of retiring, hoping thus to be left more free to intrigue at his pleasure, and to guide the hands of the delators with less fear of Tiberius' interference. He had recently suffered a rebuff in the refusal of Tiberius to countenance his marriage with Livilla, the widow of Drusus. The refusal had been courteously made, and it is probable that a little later it was withdrawn, and the betrothal permitted. Meantime, the increasing contumacy of Agrippina more than counterbalanced this check in preparing Tiberius for subsequent accusations against her and her children.

§ 5. Public events were few during these years. The same year (24 A.D.) which saw the final overthrow of Tacfarinas was marked by an abortive attempt at a slave-war, organized by one Curtisius, an ex-prætorian, in Apulia; but the enterprise was nipped in the bud by the energy of Cutius Lupus, a quæstor. More noticeable was the forced suicide of Crematius Cordus, the historian, indicted for having spoken of Cassius in his works as 'the last of the Romans.' In other words, his crime was the use of seditious language, which compared the old republic too glowingly with the government of the time. Freedom of speech seems to have developed into a license which Tiberius could not well overlook, for in the same year

(25 A.D.) one Votienus was condemned by the senate for libelling the Emperor. The latter eagerly expressed his wish to have the charges fully investigated, and to offer his own defence, a course which he was not suffered to follow. Some severe examples were made at the same date of offenders under the Julian laws on morality, and a senator was expelled for refusing to take the oath by which that order bound themselves to maintain the acts of the late Augustus. One Cominius was pardoned, however, for libel; Suillius condemned for selling justice; and a wholesome check administered to delation by the banishment of Firminus Catus for false accusation. A similar purpose prompted the passing of a law, on the motion of M. Lepidus, that the reward of a delator should not exceed one-fourth of the convicted person's property, the remainder to be left to his children.

§ 6. The transfer of the imperial residence from Rome to Capræ has been said to mark the principate as no longer a disguised, but an overt despotism. Under the republic there was no thought of political life for a Roman elsewhere than in Rome. The magistrates must present themselves in person there for their candidature, must there take the auspices which sanctioned or forbade any public act—must move, in fact, every hour as citizens amidst citizens. Some of them, such as the pontiff, the tribune, or the flamen Dialis, could on no account leave the city; and when an imperatorial officer passed beyond the *pomerium* he became no longer a citizen, and could only resume his civilian position by forfeiting his imperium. Custom had allowed even the pontiff to dispense with these trammels, and when the powers of the tribunate were conferred upon Augustus, he was able, as he frequently did, to quit Rome without scruple by virtue of being tribune not in person, but in privileges. It was, therefore, a natural development of this exemption from traditional ties which led Tiberius now to abandon for eleven years the capital of the world. In fact, he governed no less diligently from his new residence than beforetime from the Palatine Hill. Capræ is but 130 miles from Rome, and that distance was readily traversed by the permanent post-system now established.

It had always been characteristic of Tiberius to refer to the senate much of the business of which Augustus had retained either personal or deputed control ; and during the twelve years already past the senate had received ample drill in the manner in which the Princeps would have them act. Now he substituted despatches for his personal attendance at their meetings, and the despatches were sufficiently lengthy to express his own wishes on all points of importance. Sejanus himself moved occasionally to Rome, though usually to be found with his master. It will certainly appear that Tiberius was henceforth less merciful towards those whom the senate brought up for judgment ; and it was averred that he no longer kept so careful a watch upon the well-being of the provincials. But he had shown how he would have the Roman world governed, and in Sejanus he believed himself to have a faithful minister. If things went to the worse, it was through the treachery of the favourite and the cowardliness of a senate which, as it fancied, was 'courting the rising at the expense of the setting sun.'

§ 7. Sejanus was now the real governor of Rome, yet none dared to demur. Tiberius, meanwhile, was content to find at Capreae something of the rest he sought. He surrounded himself with philosophers and astrologers, in whose speculations he took a dilettante's interest. The twelve villas of the islet, named after the twelve gods, were constructed to embrace every luxury and every variety of view. The one approach from the mainland was guarded day and night by a picket of prætorians ; and the nobles, conscious that their presence was not desired, soothed their injured vanity with the malignant whisper that they were too good to satisfy the Princeps' debauched tastes, and that he hid himself from the criticism and presence of better men than himself—that virtuous *noblesse* of the senate and the dinner-table. Of the opinions of the mass of the *populus* we have no clear knowledge. In all likelihood they cared nothing about it. Some discontented Pharisees of the political law averred that for the Princeps to quit Rome was an ill-omened event, and found the justification of their presages in one or two distressing accidents which

occurred about that time. At Fidenæ a wooden amphitheatre fell and maimed or killed upwards of 20,000 victims; and the Cælian Hill was desolated by a fire which spared only the statue of Tiberius himself.* The former catastrophe caused the issue of an edict providing for the better security of theatre-goers in the future; the latter drew a magnificent sum from the Emperor's private purse towards repairing the loss and assuaging the sufferings of the homeless (27 A.D.).

§ 8. In the next year occurred an outbreak of the Frisii, the inhabitants of the modern Friesland. The tribute of that half-savage people had been collected in the shape of skins of oxen. The procurator, Olennius, had however made such exactions that the leading tribes rose in arms, and cut to pieces several hundreds of the troops led against them by L. Apronius, the imperial *legatus* of Lower Germany. No further efforts were made to reassert Roman authority; advisedly perhaps, for Tiberius had had enough of campaigns beyond the Rhine. The nobles contented themselves with voting him new honours, in which Sejanus was made his equal, and in whispering that their Emperor was a coward, who cared not for the honour of Rome. The death of Julia the younger, stepdaughter of Tiberius and sister of Agrippina, aroused no comment. What little indulgence she had enjoyed was due to Livia's influence, and within a few days Livia also died. With her fell one who deserved perhaps to be called the last of the Roman matrons. Scandal said that it was she, not her son, who had governed thus far; and certainly she had exercised over him an immense influence. Nevertheless, he could on occasion resist her wishes, and even carry out the demands of justice upon one of her ladies-in-waiting whom she tried vainly to protect. She had spent years in the difficult task of securing Augustus' favour for her son, and he was fully aware of the debt which he owed her. Much as she may have domineered over him, he never forgot his duty as a son, and stands in sufficiently marked contrast to Nero on that point. It has been argued from subsequent events

* This story bears the impress of popular gossip. Would it have got about had the *populus* not approved their Emperor more than they detested him?

that she had been the safeguard of the objects of Tiberius' dislike. It is fully as probable that in her Sejanus found an obstacle to his schemes, and that it was he, rather than Tiberius, whose malice was curbed by one who could see more clearly than Tiberius through the minister's hypocrisy and pretended loyalty. Even the severity with which Tiberius in a letter rebuked as woman-worshippers his late mother's intimate friends, and the neglect with which he passed over the provisions of her will, may have been abetted by Sejanus, who saw in friendship to Livia a silent disapprobation of his own advancement.

§ 9. From this point however he began undisguisedly to persecute the remaining members of the Cæsarean house. On the authority of a despatch from the Princeps, Agrippina and her eldest son, Nero, were hurriedly banished to Pandateria and Pontia; and a little later the second son, Drusus, who was now residing with Caius at Capree, was dismissed in disgrace to Rome by the intrigues of his wife, Lepida, whom Sejanus had seduced. The servile senate seized the cue, indicted him as a public enemy, and imprisoned him on the motion of the consul for the year (30 A.D.). At the same time Asinius Gallus, who had married Vipsania, Tiberius' first and divorced wife, was thrown into prison. Right and left the delators struck down the friends of Sejanus' rivals, and he seemed already within reach of his aims when he was named consul for 31 A.D. and for the four following years by the request of the Princeps, who was himself his colleague in the first year. But here his good-fortune faltered. Tiberius, as usual, resigned the consulship within a few days and required Sejanus to do likewise; the vacant office was filled by two men known to be personal enemies of the favourite, and other enemies were at the same moment advanced to honour. Most serious of all, Caius, the last surviving son of Agrippina, was advanced to the priesthood and informally recognised as the presumptive heir.

§ 10. Sejanus would brook no disappointment. He could rely, he believed, on the prætorians if force were needed; he relied more on his personal influence, and sought an interview. To his alarm it was denied him, and

he at once resorted to the desperate aid of conspiracy. Many senators, numbers of other citizens, joined in his project. He was ready to give the sign which should destroy his master, when his hand was stayed by the arrival of a post from Capreae by the hands of Macro, a favourite freedman, who hinted that it conveyed the writ associating Sejanus with the Emperor in the *Tribunitia Potestas*. Quite disarmed by the prospect of what was virtually a devolution of the empire upon himself, Sejanus attended to hear the despatch read. It was long and verbose, and Regulus, now consul-suffect, purposely lingered over its contents. Suddenly, at the very close of the letter, Tiberius named Sejanus as a traitor. It was too late to resist. Laco, captain of the urban-guard, barred escape. Macro was in possession of the prætorian camp, where bribery had transferred to him the interests of the troops. Regulus at once moved that the traitor be arrested, and within a few hours he was strangled in the Mamertine prison, and his body dragged through the streets amidst the insults of the populace and the fragments of his own shattered statues :

‘Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.
 Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
 Cædit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
 Jam stridunt ignes, jam foliibus atque caminis
 Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
 Sejanus Ducitur unco
 Spectandus ; gaudent omnes.’*

§ 11. The outburst of hatred against Sejanus swept away his children, relatives, and numbers of his friends. The people and senate vied with one another in their persecutions. Many who escaped for the moment were detained in prison for months, until events should determine their fate. But it was too late to undo the harm of which Sejanus had been the cause. Already Nero had been forced to suicide, and upon Agrippina and Drusus had been brought wrongs which they could never forgive. They could not be released, and for two years more their doom was undecided. Then Drusus was starved to death,

* Juvenal x., 58, *fol.*

so it was said, and Agrippina ended her own life in despair (33 A.D.); and simultaneously came the decree by which many of the surviving Sejanians were massacred. How many they were it is impossible to say, but the picture of wholesale bloodshed which the historians have recorded is a palpable exaggeration. Nor is it easy to say why so stern a fate was at length brought upon them. It is more than probable that Macro was in his turn playing the deadly game in which he had defeated Sejanus, and that to his suggestion were due the executions which now crowded thick and fast upon Rome. It was easy to argue that those who had conspired with Sejanus were still dangerous, that the brood of Agrippina were still formidable. Yet we know that Tiberius himself was still regarded with something like attachment by the populace, for when in 32 A.D. he left Capreae and came up the Tiber as far as the city walls, all the town was prepared to welcome him back to his palace, and the disappointment with which they saw him once more turn and retire to his island was too violent to be assumed.

§ 12. But there are still instances of Tiberius' clemency and justice. While he suffered the condemnation of Latinus Latiaris, a notorious informer, he secured the acquittal of Cotta Messalinus when indicted for libelling the Princeps. Terentius, indicted for conspiracy with Sejanus, by his bold defence procured his own acquittal and the punishment of his accusers; and the children of Blaesus, Sejanus' uncle, as well as his brother, L. Sejanus, were allowed to live unmolested. Apicata, the wife whom Sejanus had divorced in order the more freely to carry on his intrigues with Livilla (as the younger Livia was often called), now revealed the truth about that intrigue, and the strange death of Drusus the son of Tiberius. Livilla paid the penalty of her crimes, starved to death in the custody of Antonia, the same who had revealed to Tiberius the existence of Sejanus' conspiracy.

But, in plain truth, the senators and their instruments would not permit good government. The growth of delation had long ago infected even the nobles, and now nothing stood in their way, neither shame, nor pity, nor the most

intimate ties of relationship. Tiberius might, and did, make one or two more attempts to suppress the terrible engine of Augustus' creation and his own fostering. It was in vain; and despairing of further efforts, he suffered the nobles to have their way. Such cases as were of his own institution—and such, of course, occurred—he tried by the aid of his privy council at Capræ. He could grimly smile to see the 'wolves,' whom he had once dreaded, now tearing each other's throats.

§ 13. In the year 35 A.D. troubles again occurred in the East. The Armenian throne had once more been left vacant, and Artabanus the Parthian at once placed upon it a son of his own. The Armenians appealed against such usurpation, and Tiberius, determined to arrange matters without the cost of Roman blood if possible, secretly prompted Mithridates the Hiberian to seize that kingdom, while he instructed Vitellius, *legulus* of Syria, to set up Phraates, brother of Vonones, as King of Parthia. Phraates died before the design could be executed, but another claimant was found in Tiridates, who advanced upon Seleucia under the escort of Vitellius. Artabanus was unable to resist. His endeavour to prevent Mithridates' advance upon Armenia had been disastrously defeated. His son was expelled by the Median, and in his turn he was himself now driven from Parthia, and his crown passed to Tiridates, 36 A.D. The new king was barely set upon the throne however when the Parthian nobles, taking advantage of the withdrawal of Vitellius and his legions, recalled Artabanus and drove Tiridates out with little trouble. The latter retired to Syria, and for the present things remained as they were. Vitellius was busied at the moment with the suppression of a revolt in Cappadocia, where the Clitæ, long a vassal people, had rebelled against the imposition of regular tribute according to the imperial census.

§ 14. The health of Tiberius had long been failing, and speculation was rife as to who should succeed him. But three members of the once wide house of the Cæsars now remained: one was Caius, the youngest son of Germanicus, the Caligula of the Rhine legions; the second was Claudius, brother of Germanicus, and so uncle of Caius; the third

was Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus, eldest and only surviving son of Drusus, and so grandson of Tiberius. Of these three Gemellus was nearest by blood, Caius the next in relationship. Claudius' claim was too distant to be of importance, even had he cared to press it; the issue lay between the two younger men. But to those who knew that Caius was the tool of Macro there could be little doubt of the result. Tiberius himself was probably aware how small were the chances of his grandson's safety. 'You will kill him,' he said to Caius, 'and another will kill you.' On March 16, 37 A.D., the Princeps awoke from a death-like stupor to find his room deserted. He endeavoured to rise, and the sound of his movements brought Macro, Caius, and others quickly to his side. But whether they found him already dead, or whether, as it was whispered, Macro guided Caius' hands as he heaped the bedclothes over the dying Emperor's head, is one of the problems to which no answer can ever be given. Tiberius died aged seventy-seven years, and one person possibly mourned for him—his ill-fated grandson, Gemellus.

CHAPTER X.

The Character and Government of Tiberius.

§ 1. Authorities for the Character of Tiberius ; Prejudice against him probably overdrawn—§ 2. The Four Stages in his Character according to Tacitus—§ 3. Difficulties of his Position ; Misgovernment rather Senatorial than his own—§ 4. His Alleged Debauchery—§ 5. His Reserve ; His Parsimony and its Explanation—§ 6. His Treatment of the Provincials ; The Abolition of the *Comitia Centuriata*, and its Effect on the Provinces—§ 7. Instances of his Good Government Abroad, and (§ 8) at Home—§ 9. Opinion of the Provincials on his Reign.

§ 1. The character of the second Emperor of Rome has only of late years received the attention it deserves, and even yet it is far from impartially weighed by most of those who examine it. So firmly was the tradition of the pride and arrogance of the Claudii rooted in the minds of Romans and their historians ancient and modern, that this alone was thought sufficient cause for any atrocities that could be laid to the charge of Tiberius. But 'the rubbish-heap of tradition' has been better sifted of late, and there is even a class of sifters ready, Midas-like, to convert into gold all that they take up as dross. To strike a balance between the two is, perhaps, the safest, if not a quite satisfactory, course.

Of the four historians who give any detailed account of the reign—Suetonius, Dio Cassius, Tacitus, and Velleius—all save the last, picture Tiberius as a monster of iniquity. In Suetonius he is merely brutal ; in Cassius, brutal, but capable of better things in a fitful way ; in Tacitus, mere brutality is replaced by a cold-blooded hypocrisy, a calculating delight in giving pain, which is, as it stands, incredible. He ruled for three-and-twenty years, and died in all likelihood a natural death ; and therein is the surest answer to such absolute condemnation. He must have had many

supporters, a hand as strong and a wit as keen as cruel, to escape the tyrant's fate; for Romans were not yet accustomed to an absolutism like that of Dionysius, and the safeguards of an Oriental despot were not yet gathered round the head of the Roman Empire. It is absurd to suppose that even delation could have prevented a *coup* which should have driven him from the throne, had the citizens hated him as universally as Tacitus would have us believe. We know that he did little to conciliate the friendship even of the legions and prætorians. Yet either these must have held in check the vengeance of the populace, or the populace have restrained the soldiery, or, finally, both classes alike must have been satisfied to endure his government. And many things show that the latter was really the case. The schemes of Clemens and Curtisius met with no support; even Piso, the noblest of the nobles, found no followers in his daring. Those who plotted were consistently members of the aristocracy; and the execrations which greeted the fallen Sejanus are proofs that his conspiracy had no favour with the masses. The very prætorians, whom he fancied to be his sworn auxiliaries, preferred to see him fall rather than to strike the one slight blow which would have made him master of the State.

§ 2. Tacitus distinguishes four periods of Tiberius' life, each marked by its own characteristics. The first comprises his entire life up to his accession at the age of fifty-six, a period in which the whole character of the man must have been definitely formed, though slight changes may have supervened. Of this period Tacitus says 'in life and good name he was a pattern.*' What were the events of these years has been shown at large in the history of Augustus' reign. They were enough in their labours and variable prospects, in the alternate favour and disfavour of the *Principes*, to have discovered all that was bad in an ordinary man. Yet Tiberius was a loyal and successful soldier, whose very strictness made him respected by the legions he led to victory, and the chagrin under which he withdrew to Rhodes, when he saw himself superseded by

* *Egregium vita famaque.*

two untried, inexperienced striplings, was surely excusable. The next period, 14—23 A.D., is summarized as one of 'dark and crafty policy, cloaked by the pretence of rectitude,*' due to fear of Germanicus and of his own son Drusus. Yet his whole treatment of Germanicus was marked by confidence and good policy; and the story that he recalled a successful general from the Rhine through jealousy is based on the false assumption that Germanicus was successful and is as untenable as the story that Piso was sent out to Asia on purpose to harass, or even remove, the son of Agrippa. As to Drusus, we have seen that he was no great favourite—certainly no rival to his father.† Thirdly, during the years 23—29 A.D., Tacitus merely says that his mother's presence kept him half-way between good and evil,‡ and adds that the history of those years is but a naked list of 'cruel mandates, ceaseless accusations, treacheries of friend to friend.' Yet this was the time when there seemed to be a revival of the old regrets for the republic and of outspoken discontent, for which Crematius Cordus, Votienus, and Cassius Severus suffered. It was the time, too, when Sejanus' ascendancy was most marked, and his instruments, the delators, were increasingly active. Yet we have Tacitus' own word that the Princeps was active in the maintenance of public morals, quick to punish the sale of justice, and even to investigate in person the scene of an alleged murder, still anxious to curb the headlong adulation of the senate. Convictions were, undoubtedly, more numerous; but we do not know how far the senate was responsible for them rather than the Princeps. The fourth and last stage was one 'of execrable cruelty, in which vices, at first veiled, broke out at length, on Sejanus' fall, into open licentiousness.§ But the cruelty may have been necessary to complete that security which demanded the removal of Sejanus and Agrippina, and amid the long list of trials which Tacitus gives there are still instances of

* 'Occultum et subdolum fingendis virtutibus.'

† A pretended Drusus appeared in Asia, 32 A.D., but met with no support; he claimed however to be the younger Drusus.

‡ 'Inter bona malaque mixtus incedunt matre.'

§ 'Instabilis sevitia, sed obsecuta libidinibus dum Sejanum dilexit transiit: postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit.'

pardon and mercy and of undeniable justice, and the historian himself mentions men whose rectitude of life kept them safe even through the perils of that reign of terror. Moreover, the influence of Macro was now little less than had been that of Sejanus, and we know he was hated fully as bitterly.]

3. Pliny describes Tiberius as 'the very saddest of men.' For fifty-six years he lived in peril and continual disappointment. He succeeded to an empire not yet moulded to tractability, wherein his every word, be it ever so well-meant, was misinterpreted by a concealed nobility that sheltered its own mediocrity behind evil-speaking and perversity; the one man whom he dared to trust abused his confidence; the senate he strove to keep in honour degraded itself in spite of his efforts; from first to last he lived apart, continually misunderstood, continually disappointed. If he was stern in his private life he earned the name of meanness and the insinuation of secret vice. If he checked the boasted justice of the senate, he was averred to be trampling on their rights. It was not surprising if at last he withdrew, as Augustus once did, from the scene of such disappointments, and suffered the folly of the nobles to take its own course. The writers of history in the ancient world were always of the noble class; little wonder that they saw fit to make the Princeps the scapegoat of that cruelty which was their own. It may well have been that disappointment bred cynicism, and that cynicism prompted the sterner hand of his last years. 'Let them hate, so they approve me,' he had once said; if their approval was to be won by nothing less than bloodshed, he might fairly suffer them at length to indulge their taste for blood.

4. Of the hideous vices attributed to him little need be said. Caprea was pictured as the scene of outrages which defy description, the Emperor as a monster for whom no debauchery was too horrible. If he drank—and the soldiers nicknamed him *Claudius Biberius Nero*—that was but a small sin; and Pliny says he was sober to asceticism in his later years. But could a man of his age so alter? It

* A pun on the name *Claudius Tiberius Nero*—a drunkard who took his wine hot and undiluted.

he did, could he have lived so long? Unfortunately there have been found at Capreae the painted and sculptured pictures of the very same atrocities with which Tiberius is charged. But after Tiberius came Nero, whose crimes were not even veiled, and Capreae may have owed its relics to the years of that principate.* In any case Roman society was too rotten, root and branch, to be able to cast a stone at the moral character of its ruler.

§ 5. Probably Tiberius' foremost sin was his dialike of society; his second, his affectation of a bygone simplicity which even Augustus had failed appreciably to enforce. Augustus was simple in his domestic habits, but he was sociable; and his table provided conviviality on no mean scale to his favourites and acquaintances. But Tiberius was long past the time to grow into the society man when the empire at length devolved upon him, and so his asceticism only gained the name of parsimony, his seclusion that of shame. Even the rabble felt in some degree this seclusion, for they no longer enjoyed the continual and gorgeous shows which the first emperor had carefully kept up. Tiberius was too diffident to court public applause, and rarely showed himself in the theatre or Circus. Strange conduct if the sight of human suffering was his greatest pleasure, for a Nero could find his chiefest delight within the arena of the Colosseum or circus. The simple explanation of such public parsimony is that the bankruptcy with which the State had been threatened in Augustus' time was now a reality. Abroad were twenty-five legions to be fed and clothed and paid; at home was the hungry mob requiring its regular largess of corn. There was everything to pay for and little to pay with. This fact forced Tiberius to withdraw the legions from beyond the Rhine; and the same reason compelled him to forego the public shows. The mob must have its bread, but it must go without its games. Private individuals could and did still supply entertainments at their own cost.

The same reason again prevented the furtherance of Augustus' designs for improving Rome. The enormous

* The Romans always had a lurking love for Nero, and may have set down what was due to him, or to some other later Emperor, as the doing of Tiberius.

architectural works which he had completed or begun now came to a standstill because there was no money with which to continue them. The historians saw and noted the fact belonging as they did to the prodigal, ostentatious nobles, they never suggested the reason—necessary economy.

§ 6. If we turn from Rome to the provinces we may find proof enough of the success of Tiberius' administration. The same blessings which had attended Augustus' rule continued under that of his successor, in so much that, not content with erecting temples to Divus Augustus and Rome, the provincials raised them now to Tiberius while still on earth. When they made public application for his permission, he could modestly decline if he saw fit—his enemies said forsooth it was the mark of a mean spirit not to seize greedily upon the honours due to a God!—but the non-official worship of the Princeps was now a recognised cult. The conduct of later Emperors who proclaimed themselves Gods in Rome itself, and demanded adoration as the kin of the Tyndaridæ, is in striking contrast to the attitude of Tiberius.

Meanwhile, he kept vigilant watch over the conduct of his legates and of the proconsuls, and cases of prosecution for malversation have been already cited; and it has been remarked that the larger number of such cases are concerned with senatorial governors. In the later years of his reign the old man grew less energetic, and, in contrast to the policy of his predecessor, allowed the same officer to retain his position for many years. Augustus' policy had changed them often, and so had provided official prizes for many candidates; Tiberius, in leaving these prizes long in the same hands, diminished the number of those who could win them, and so was charged with slothful negligence. His very sternness in checking extortion earned him nothing but ill-will amongst the greedy nobility of Rome. His motto was that 'the shepherd must shear, not flay, his sheep.' It was not unusual for a senatorial province to petition for its transfer to imperial control, as in the cases of Achaia and Macedonia, 16 A.D. And here it must be mentioned that Tiberius' control over the provincial officers was more effective than had been that

of Augustus, at least, in a negative way. In the very year of his accession he had quietly done away with the last remnant of popular suffrage, the comitia for the election of consuls, etc. The fact that it was so quietly done shows how careless were the people of their time-honoured privilege, and shows too how far Augustus had succeeded in rendering such a step inevitable. The consuls and prætors were now elected by the senate. But Tiberius went even further. He restricted the number of nominations for the consulship to four, and personally 'recommended' two of that number. The recommendation was virtually equivalent to a command, and thus the Princeps could control the list of those who would in succession claim the honours of a provincial proconsulate or prætorship. In this one act is summed up virtually the whole result of Tiberius' principate on the constitution. It was the natural sequel to the policy of Augustus; it seemingly aggrandized the senate, while in reality it clinched the fetters with which the Emperor now controlled the entire State.

§ 7. In 17 A.D. Tiberius directed public aid to be given to twelve cities of Asia Minor, which had suffered from a violent earthquake. It was, he said, a national calamity. In 21 A.D. he passed a law allowing provincial governors to be accompanied by their wives, using language which shows him, however, to have been well aware that the wives were even more addicted to arrogant behaviour than their consorts, and less easy to punish. Still, to have forbidden their presence would, he said, be a remedy worse than the disease. In the following year he severely commented on the abuse of the right of asylum common in Eastern towns, and restricted its practice. He carefully reviewed a question of boundary which arose between two small Grecian states in 25 A.D. Such are a few instances of his regard for provincial feeling and well-being.

§ 8. He put down the licentiousness of the Isiac worship in Rome; repressed the turbulence of theatrical factions, and forbade the degradation of Romans by their courting actors, and even in person performing on the stage; expelled the astrologers, and severely punished many of their number. He passed various sumptuary laws; enforced the Lex Papia

Poppæa; visited with 'old-fashioned' severity the profligacy of women; assisted certain noble families which had become impoverished, and showed a stern justice in refusing to repeat similar acts of munificence in cases in which the generosity of Augustus had failed in its object by reason of the unworthiness of the recipient. He was munificent in his assistance when fires devastated Rome, regulated the price of corn with the usual loss to his own pars, and successfully dealt with a severe financial crisis in Italy. He interested himself in the proper management of the law-courts, in the privileges and duties of the Vestals and the flammæ, and put an effective stop to the license bred of familiarity with Livia. Such were some of his recorded measures at home.

§ 2. Two writers have left us their verdict on the foreign administration of this reign—Philo and Josephus, both Jews, and both extol it as just, wise, and eminently advantageous to the provincials. And the best corroboration of their words is to be found in the general peacefulness of the provinces. There was but one provincial rebellion properly so called—that of Sacrovir and Florus; and that, as we have seen, was a legacy from the previous reign. The case of Tacfarinas is no evidence on the point; he was merely a nomad freebooter. The roads were maintained, the market-dues fixed, brigandage suppressed, the legions kept in good discipline. Commerce flourished extensively. From Alexandria came the corn of Egypt and the spices of Arabia; from Asia Minor the rich stuffs and art produce of the East. Slavery became less prominent as the slave-hunting peoples were annexed and put under the protection of Rome, while manumission at home relieved the serfdom of domestic life. And all this was the work of the charge of one mind, which shared the burden of its manifold duties with scarce one coadjutor, which abominated a bureaucracy such as relieves most rulers of wide territories, and which has been branded as the very vilest of the vile.

¹ Tacitus got much of his material from the private journals of Agrippina II., and was of course little disposed to attempt a candid record. To prove that the Senate, not Tiberius, was answerable for the cruelties of the time.

CHAPTER XI.

Literature.

§ 1. Effects of Autocracy on Poetry—§ 2. Alexandrine Poetry and its Imitators—§ 3. The Patrons of the Poets; Augustus; Mæcenas; Messala—§ 4. Relations of Patron and Poet—§ 5. Effects of the Civil Wars on Poetry; the Palatine Library—§ 6. Varius—§ 7. Minor Poets of the Early Empire—§ 8. Gallus and Marsus—§ 9. Tibullus—§ 10. Propertius—§ 11. Vergil; his Life—§ 12. The *Eclogues*; Bucolic Poetry—§ 13. The *Georgics*; Didactic Poetry—§ 14. The *Æneid*; its Character and Analysis—§ 15. Minor Poets.

§ 1. With the empire there came a marked and inevitable change in Roman literature. Democracy is characterized by free-thinking and free-speaking, and when democracy fell it carried with it the literature of which Catullus, Sisenna and Lucilius had been the exponents. Augustus could not allow personalities, and the laws of libel gradually assuming greater strictness, the scope of the writer became more narrowed. The political pamphleteer had been a leading feature of the last era; he now disappears entirely. Instead of politics, the subjects are mythological fables, society verse, science, and of course love. But the style of the love-poet alters. Augustus' reforms in morals would admit of no licentious writings like those of Catullus and his fellows, any more than would his changes in politics allow him to permit the glorification of the fallen republic to his own detraction. Indeed, the sphere of public life was now so limited that the interest in politics rapidly died away. The Princeps collected about him a circle of men of genius who were prepared to see nothing but good in the new régime, and to preach its excellences to the world. Particularly was this so with the poets, who be-

came valuable instruments in Augustus' hands to glorify his able rule abroad, and to praise his reforms at home.

§ 2. The Latin writers had always been imitators. A purely Latin composition is almost unknown. From Greece came the form and ornaments of the book; from Greece, very often, its subject. Of late the culture of Greece had centred at Alexandria, and there flourished under the Ptolemies, in the third century B.C., a class of didactic writers and writers of love-poetry who furnished ample materials for imitation. Chief among them were Callimachus of Cyrene, Euphorion of Chalcis, Nicander, Philetas, and Aratus of Soli. So prevalent was the fashion for Alexandrine subjects and style that Cicero classes the lyric poets of his day in a group as 'warblers of Euphorion.' Their school was distinguished by its excess of recondite mythology and erudition, and its overstrained artificiality.

§ 3. Society at large was now the writer's audience. It was no longer his task to write for a select few, as in the old days. Every Roman gentleman talked literature, and even the Emperor wrote a little on his own account. He set an example, too, in his patronage of authors—an example which was followed by all wealthy men, and in particular by Mæcenas and Messala.

Both were men of refined mind and exceptional taste; both were writers, though not particularly successful. Round each gathered a knot of poets, to a certain extent rivals, yet all adopting much the same attitude. What difference there was between the two cliques may be summed up in the statement that while Mæcenas' circle was more avowedly political, more intimate with Augustus in person, and more openly concerned to preach his wishes, that of Messala was more retiring, concerned rather with poetry as a literary pursuit than as a vehicle for any particular teaching. Of Mæcenas sufficient has been said already to show that he was devoted heart and soul to the cause of his master. Messala, on the other hand, had fought on the side of the republicans, and though after his pardon he became a loyal general and servant of the conqueror, yet he could not feel the same enthusiasm for the new regime which marked the actions of Mæcenas.

He died about the end of the last century B.C., having, like Mæcenas, outlived most of the poets whom he befriended.

§ 4. It must be added that the patronage of these great names implies nothing derogatory to the independence of their proteges. The poet did not make merchandise of his intellectual wares in return for office, protection, or munificence. It is true that the influence of his patron might obtain a comfortable maintenance for Horace or Vergil; but this was not the fulfilment of a bargain. It was a mark of esteem bestowed freely, and expecting no return. The poet, if he lauded Augustus, did so from his own convictions, and not for the parasite's dinner or the client's *sportula*. Horace and Mæcenas regarded each other as intimate friends, not as debtor and creditor; and the same applies to all the authors of the time.

§ 5. Augustus was aided in the wish to find authors who would preach his doctrines by the fact that twenty years of warfare had disgusted all men of genius, and that the few who had had any experience of the true republic had experienced it only at its worst when Clodius and Milo were virtually the rulers of Rome. The poets who praised the principate had no need to swallow their principles before doing so. And to become apostles of the new regime offered high rewards, not mercenary, but immortal. Augustus built the famous Palatine library, the first in Rome, and held up to the ambition of all authors the prospect of leaving an ivy-leaved bust amongst those of the famous poets of the olden time. This ambition may be traced in the works of most of the poets of the time. They did not want rank, because they disliked its duties; but they longed for fame, and Augustus offered it to them—at a price, of course.

It remains to speak in detail of the authors of the period; and first must be mentioned one or two whose names are not so closely associated with either of the great literary coteries.

§ 6. L. Varius Rufus came, like so many of Rome's great writers, from Cisalpine Gaul. Born in 64 B.C., he was already intimate with Mæcenas when the latter attained his position as chief counsellor of Augustus, and it was he

who introduced to the statesman both Vergil and Horace. He was fortunate in establishing his reputation as the foremost poet of Rome before Vergil, a younger man, could wrest from him his laurels. He owed his fame to an epic on the death of Julius (*De Morte*), of which Vergil was not ashamed to avail himself, and which approached nearer than any other poem to the style and rhythm of the *Æneid*, to judge from the small fragment preserved. When the *Æneid* supplanted his work in this branch, he turned to tragedy, and the *Thyestes*, which he wrote for the *Ludi Actoriani*, remained famous as a masterpiece of Roman dramatic literature. He died in 9 A.D. Horace acknowledged his powers—‘No one writes the martial epic as does ancient Varius’—in the earlier days of their intimacy; and Vergil, then only a rising poet, owns that he ‘cannot yet sing aught worthy of Varius.’†

§ 7. In the same passage Vergil compares his early efforts to those of one Anser, jestingly remarking that he himself is ‘as a goose (*anser*) amidst swans.’ This poet was, therefore, one of the earlier time, transitional between the old and new régime; and from what Ovid says of him‡ we may conclude that he represented the failing school of erotic poets of whom Catullus was the chief. Even less is known of Varus, to whom is addressed *Eclogue VI*. His *nomen* is supposed to have been Quintilius, and Vergil pays him a high compliment:

‘Nec Phœbo gratior ulla est
Quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit pagina nomen.’§

Two other poetasters of Vergil’s earlier days were Bavius and Mævius. They need only be mentioned here as disparagers of that poet, and as having given its name to the ‘Baviad and Mæviad,’ a satire by William Gifford, in the early part of this century.

M. Furius Bibaculus belongs rather to the previous age, but he lived long enough to satirize Augustus, and was

* *Sat.* I. i. 31. The first book of *Satires* was probably written before 35 B.C.

† *Epigr.* ix. 25. The poem is dated prior to 40 B.C., by Cunningham.

‡ More swans than *Chima*. C. Helvius *Chima* (50 B.C.) wrote a licentious epic entitled *Chimæa*.

§ *Bucolics* vi. 11.

|| *Eclogue* III. 91. ‘Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.’

possibly alive in 29 B.C. He was also an epic poet, his subject being the Gallic wars of Caesar; and according to Horace* he was turgid and bombastic, though Vergil found in his writings something to imitate. The line

'(Jupiter) hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes'

is supposed to be quoted from his poem, and the ludicrous metaphor is said to have earned for him the name of *Alpinus*.

§ 8. Another poet who fell in the earlier days of the empire was Cornelius Gallus, a native of Forum Julii (*Frijus*), in Gaul, born 69 B.C. He was a man of considerable abilities, and Augustus, to whose notice he first introduced Vergil, appointed him Prefect of Egypt on the settlement of the Alexandrine war. How he abused his position, incurred the emperor's displeasure, and committed suicide, has been already told.† He was the foremost of the poets of love of his day, and to his mistress, Cytheris, he addressed four books of elegies, all modelled on those of Alexandrine writers; and he made a complete translation of Euphoriion. Nothing is left of his writings; but the tenth *Eclogue* of Vergil is a warm tribute to his friendship and abilities. In it Gallus is represented as bewailing the faithlessness of Lycoris—possibly the same as Cytheris—while the Gods of poetry gather round to listen and console him. Quintilian, the critic, calls him *durior*, so that his style was probably less graceful than that of Tibullus, and nearer to that of the elegies of Catullus and his compeers. He is never mentioned by Horace, who, perhaps, classed him with the poets who could only 'warble Catullus and Calvus'; but neither does Horace mention Domitius Marsus, who was a member of the circle of Mæcenas, a pupil of Orbilius, and a rival of Gallus in erotic poetry. He also wrote epigrams, *fabellar*, and an epic entitled *Amazonis*, of which Martial said fifty years later that it was rarely quoted and not of great merit. He was born about 50 B.C., and outlived both Vergil and Tibullus, to whose memory he composed a graceful epigram of four lines, which is all that survives of his poetry.

* Sat. I. x. 36; il. v. 41.

† See p. 21.

We now come to four great poets whose works remain to us—Albius Tibullus, Sextus Aurelius Propertius, Publius Verginius Maro, and Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

§ 9. Albius Tibullus was born about 53 B.C., and died in the same year as Vergil, 19 B.C. He was by birth a knight and a Roman, and forms a rare exception to the rule that Rome's greatest men of genius were born on provincial soil. Originally a man of some property, he lost almost all in the proscriptions of 43 B.C., retaining only a small farm at Pedum in Latium, between which and Messala's town house he divided his time. He grew rich again, however, and probably recovered his lost possessions by the interest of Messala. His life seems to have been spent in two amours; the object of the first was Delia, and when she proved inconstant, he betook himself for comfort to Nemesis. To each of these mistresses he addressed one book of *Elegies*; the third and fourth books which complete his works so called are of doubtful authenticity. Most critics agree that the third book is the work of an inferior poet, who addresses himself to a lady named Neera. Like the names Delia and Nemesis, this name is probably fictitious, it being the custom to replace the real name by an imaginary one of the same metrical value, and of Greek form. Several of the genuine poems are addressed to Messala, praising his munificence or his successes in war; and others are mere pictures of the pleasures of country life. His poetry is less burdened with mythological details, and is more spontaneous, than that of any other elegiac poet. 'In no poet, not even in Burns, is simple, natural emotion more naturally expressed.*' Quintilian adjudged him to be the prince of Latin elegiac poets.

§ 10. Contemporary with Tibullus as the elegiac poet of the rival society of Maecenas was Sextus Propertius. Born in Umbria, at some time between the years 58-49 B.C., he lost his patrimony in the confiscations and allotments which followed the battle of Philippi, and does not seem to have recovered them as did his rival. Possibly he did not care for the rural simplicity and contented retirement which it was the fashion of his fellow poets to affect, and it is

* Cruttwell, *Hist. Roman Literature*, p. 501.

probable that he lived in Rome, whither he certainly came to study as an advocate. Fortunately for us, however, he fell in speedily with the lady whom he addresses as Cynthia, and gave expression to his feelings towards her in verse, which attracted the notice of Mæcenas. Yet he did not improve upon this acquaintance as did Horace and others. He was too fond of city life, with its dissipations and license, to enter cordially into the spirit of a reforming emperor crusading against the decline of morals. He approximates rather to Ovid than to Tibullus in the tone of his writings as well as in their style; and, as we shall see, Ovid's poetry marked a reaction in the direction of the now forbidden schools of Catullus and his fellows. Like them, he studied to imitate Callimachus and the Alexandrines, and as a result his poems are at times quite incomprehensible from their excess of erudition and mythological allusion. The majority of his elegies are addressed to Cynthia, whose real name was Hostia; but there are also descriptive poems, such as those narrating the myth of Hylas, and that of Hercules and Cacus, and one or two true elegies—'laments,' that is—on the death of friends and other griefs. One or two fugitive pieces on poetical common-places, such as the immortality of poets, addresses to Bacchus, Vertumnus, Jove, and a number of epistolary elegies to Mæcenas, and other friends or rivals, make up the four books which we possess. He was a warm admirer of Vergil; but, to judge from his silence, Horace disliked him. The date of his death is unknown; possibly it occurred about the year 15 B.C.

§ 11. Publius Vergilius Maro was a poet of a different stamp. Born at Andes, in the neighbourhood of Mantua, 70 B.C., he was already nearly thirty years of age when deprived of his estate by confiscation, 43 B.C. He had to support him, however, the interest of Pollio, then governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and so recovered his property. The restoration was only temporary. In 41 B.C. came the second series of confiscations and allotments, and Vergil was again ousted, barely escaping with his life. He removed to Rome, where he had for some years in his early life attended the lectures of various professors of rhetoric

and philosophy. He soon became acquainted with Mæcenas, and the success which attended the publication of the *Elegues* satisfied the patron as to the merits of his protégé. He encouraged the poet to continue his efforts, though in a more serious form, and his advice resulted in the composition of the *Georgics*. The liberality of Augustus and the patronage of Pollio and Mæcenas were sufficient to recoup the poet's shattered fortunes, and the later years of his life were spent mostly in a villa which he acquired near Naples. He died at Brundisium, on his return from a tour in Greece, 19 B.C., while still engaged on his great epic, the *Æneid*, and was buried at his favourite villa. In his will he left instructions that his unfinished poem should be burnt: but Augustus, for reasons of his own, countermanded the wish, and directed Varius the poet and Plotius Tucca to edit it. Vergil's tomb became a centre for semi-religious pilgrimages and offerings, and hence arose the story prevalent during the Middle Ages that he was a wizard. Throughout his later years he enjoyed the very closest intimacy with his patron, and formed one of Mæcenas' companions, together with Varius and Horace, when the minister journeyed to Brundisium in 38 B.C.* to negotiate with Antonius, on behalf of Augustus, for a joint attack upon Sextus Pompeius, the master of the Mediterranean. Like Tibullus, he preferred the life of the country to that of the town:

* *Molle atque facetum*

Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camene :†

and in this respect he differed from Propertius and Ovid.

§ 12. In the *Elegues*, which were published prior to 35 B.C., the genius of Vergil appears in its native form—politics had no interest for him, nor did he as yet care to grapple with the sustained task of epic poetry. He loved the country, and he found virgin field for his talents in transplanting to Latin soil the pastoral poetry first written by Theocritus. This writer, a native of Syracuse, flourished at the beginning of the third century B.C., and resided long

* This journey is the subject of Horace, Sat. 1. 5.

† Hor. Sat. 1. at 44.

enough at Alexandria to become one of the Alexandrine school of poets. Nevertheless, his subject was original, however much he yielded to prevalent fashion in its treatment. He wrote *Idyls*, small *genre* pictures of the life of Sicilian peasantry—shepherds, fishermen, and housewives; and his example was followed by Bion and Moschus. But until Vergil's time no Italian poet had ventured to trespass on this ground, a fact which renders Vergil's success all the more surprising. In many cases he merely translates from his originals; usually he adopts the *dramatis personæ*—the plot, if one may say so—and fills in the bare outline at his own discretion. But just as Theocritus occasionally appears as a panegyrist, so Vergil in the fourth and tenth *Ecloques* becomes personal; the poem deals with living persons, while the setting still remains bucolic. The fourth *Ecloque* has acquired fame, not more from its beauty than from a theory that it expressed a prophetic anticipation of the birth of a Messiah. It was written, as a matter of fact, in honour of the consulship of Pollio; but who was the child whose birth is hailed is, and must always be, a mystery. The tenth *Ecloque* has already been mentioned as addressed to Gallus.

§ 13. It was the advice of Mæcenas that prompted Vergil to take up a greater task in the *Georgics*. He is said to have dreamed already of putting into an epic the history of Rome, as Ennius and others had done before him, but the magnitude and loftiness of the task deterred him. Erotic poetry and society-verse were not congenial to his taste, and politics had no attraction for him, except as material for the exercise of those Epicurean views of philosophy which he had learnt from Siron. Still, he entered fully into that desire for peace which was prevalent in the minds of all, from Augustus downwards; and he found himself able to contribute to that desire by the production of a work idealizing husbandry. Ceaseless wars had completed the depopulation of Italy which the Gracchi had long ago noted with concern. The old race of yeomen was gone, the fields were untilled, bands of slaves performed what agricultural duties still survived, and the 'glory of labour as man's mission' was no more. The restoration of Italy depended on the restoration of agriculture to its place of honour, and for this reason Mæce-

nas persuaded his friend to write a work which for beauty equalled the *Eclogues*, but far surpassed them in scope and seriousness of purpose. The *Georgics*—that is, ‘Matters of Husbandry’—comprise four books dealing with crops, trees, cattle and horses, and bees respectively. They form what is called a didactic poem, a poem conveying systematic instruction in their subject under the cloak of verse. The father of such poetry was Hesiod of Ascra, in the eighth century B.C., whose poem the ‘Works and Days’ was at once the model, and in a large measure the source, of Vergil’s work :

‘*Ascreumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.*’

He had been followed by Aratus the astronomer, by Nicander the physician, and a host of other Greeks of Alexandria; while at Rome the great work of Lucretius, which sets forth in six books the entire system of Epicurean philosophy, was the first of a long series of less famous didactic poems. Vergil had studied Lucretius deeply, and he owed much to him as well as to Aratus. Besides Hesiod’s book, he found prose authorities in Cato and Varro; and while the *Georgics* are poetry of the most captivating kind, they contained so much sound instruction as to win a front place in the ranks of writers on agriculture. A subject at first sight unattractive became, by free use of digressions, by sweetness of rhythm and language, and by that love of nature which rings through every line, a book of which it is difficult to tire. So uniformly excellent are they that quotation is scarcely admissible; but perhaps the finest passages are that at the close of Book I. describing the omens and horrors which followed Julius’ death, the long passage in Book II. extolling the old-fashioned simplicity of the Ausonian farmers, and decrying pomp and avarice, and the description of the murrain in Book III., largely borrowed from Lucretius’ account of the plague of Athens. Book IV. closes with the legends of Aristæus and Orpheus, a somewhat incongruous subject which is said to have been substituted for a peroration in honour of Gallus. As Gallus died 23 B.C., and the *Georgics* were published 29 B.C., the change must then have been made in a second edition.

The work is dedicated to Mæcenæ, and seven years were spent in the elaboration of its two thousand lines or so.

§ 14. In the *Æneid* Vergil at length realized his early dreams of writing an epic. Augustus is said to have endeavoured to persuade the poet to write the history of his wars, but this Vergil declined to do, as did Horace also. Mere history in verse is a dangerous subject to deal with, and hard realities were no matter for the genius either of the lover of nature or of the society-poet. Still, there was in the *Georgics* proof that Vergil possessed in a wonderful degree those feelings of patriotism, religious enthusiasm, and moral purity, which the emperor was anxious to make universal. Such talents were too valuable to be lost; and they were utilized in the production of a magnificent poem glorifying the beginnings of Rome, and establishing the connection claimed by the Julian house with Æneas and, through him, with the Gods. The poem has been called the richest source of our knowledge of Roman religion and moral feeling. In it the creed of Rome appears freed in great part from the overgrowth of Greek mythology. It is a Roman poem in the fullest sense, for its subjects and its thoughts are alike those of the *gens togata*. There is of course much that is Greek in the details of the story, and the form is entirely Greek, being borrowed direct from Homer. Nevertheless it is consistently Italian, and if anything could rouse to good purpose the Roman's pride of race, the *Æneid* would have accomplished that result.

In bare outline, the subject is the landing of Æneas in Italy, and his war with Turnus for the hand of Lavinia. But varied episodes lend interest and break the continuity of the simple narrative. Book I. opens with Juno, the enemy of the Trojan race, stirring up a tempest to wreck Æneas and his fellow-fugitives, who are now near Sicily. They are cast ashore on the African coast, and hospitably welcomed by Dido, Queen of Carthage. The appearance of Venus to her son, an account of Dido's fortunes, and a description of her new city, complete the book. Book II. is filled by the narrative of Æneas, who, at Dido's table, recounts the horrors of Troy's capture and his own flight; and his story continues in Book III., which details his

wanderings from place to place, in Thrace, in Epirus, and elsewhere, until the occasion of the storm which drove him to Africa. The fourth book contains the famous description of Dido's unfortunate love for her guest, his flight at the behest of heaven, and her suicide—a narrative unique in classical literature as a love-novel. Book V. finds Æneas landed at Egesta, where his compatriot, Acestes, receives him, and where he institutes funeral games in honour of his father, Anchises. A boat-race and a foot-race, matches in archery, wrestling and boxing, and the exercises of mounted boys in the 'game of Troy,' are all described. The sixth book contains most that is original in the poem. Hitherto the scenes of the work have been borrowed from Homer or Apollonius Rhodius in great part. Even in this book the idea of making Æneas visit the lower world is borrowed from *Odyssey* XI., but the detail and amplification of the idea are independent. Guided by the sibyl Æneas plucks the golden bough by Lake Avernus, wherewith he obtains passage to the world of the dead; and we are told how he saw the heroes and heroines of old, the good and the wicked, the place of torment and the Elysian fields, and, finally, all the spirits as yet not incarnate, destined one day to live on earth as kings in Alba and the famous heroes of Rome. Each is described, and his mighty deeds set forth as prophecies which reveal the history of Rome. The seventh book, after describing the friendly reception afforded to the Trojans by Latinus, tells how Juno sends the fury Allecto to rouse the wrath of Turnus whom Æneas had forestalled as son-in-law of Latinus, and of the commencement of the war with Turnus' people, the Rutuli. In Book VIII. Æneas seeks help of Evander, the Arcadian, who had colonized the Palatine Hill, and the narrative is garnished with ancient legends of Roman landmarks, and the story of Hercules and Cacus, ending with a description of the armour which Vulcan wrought for Æneas, whereon are depicted all the scenes of Roman history down to the battle of Actium and the overthrow of Antonius and Cleopatra. In Book IX. Turnus attacks the Trojan camp, and the devotion of Nisus and Euryalus is related. Books X. and XI. recount the return of Æneas

and his repulse of Turnus in a stubborn battle, wherein figure all the heroes of the Italian nations from Mezentius, the tyrant of Etruria, to Camilla, queen of the Volsci. In the twelfth book Æneas is challenged to single combat by Turnus, and eventually conquers his enemy.

The work was commenced in 29 B.C., and was not finally completed in 19 B.C. when its author died. Had he lived, he would have spent three more years on its elaboration, yet there are few points in which any improvement can well be sought for. The metre is hexameter, as in all his great works; and so great a master of this metre is he, that it serves him alike for every scene, and never grows monotonous. It is the metre in which 'the strong-winged music of Homer' was written; and after passing with growing elegance through the hands of Ennius, Lucilius, and Lucretius, it reached in Vergil a perfection which was never surpassed.

§ 15. The *Culex* (Gnat) and *Moretum* (Salad), and the *Ciris*, relating the legend of Scylla, are shorter poems attributed with more or less likelihood to the early days of Vergil, when still living on his farm near Mantua. There are also five brief pieces in elegiac metre, of which one, the *Copa* (Hostess), is a lively descriptive piece, and one an elegy in honour of Messala's victories. Finally, there is a piece of twenty-five iambs, parodying Catullus' famous fourth poem (*Dedicatio Phaseli*).

CHAPTER XII.

Literature (continued).

§ 1. Horace ; his Life—§ 2. The *Satires* ; History of Satirical Writing—§ 3. The *Epodes* and *Odes*—§ 4. The *Carmen Saculare*, *Epistles*, and *Ars Poetica*—§ 5. *Æmilius* *Macer*—§ 6. Ovid ; his Life and Writings ; his Banishment—§ 7. The *Fasti* ; *Metamorphoses* ; *Tristia*—§ 8. Other Writings—§ 9. *Gratius* and *Manilius*—§ 10. *Phaedrus*—§ 11. Prose Writing ; Causes of its Change of Style connected with the Decay of Oratory—§ 12. *Cornelius Nepos* ; *Vitruvius Pollio* ; *Pompeius Trogus*—§ 13. *Grammarians*—§ 14. The *Historians* ; *Cornelius* ; *Bassus* ; *Strabo* the Geographer—§ 15. *Livy*—§ 16. *Velleius*—§ 17. *Valerius Maximus* and *Celsus*—§ 18. The *Senecas*—§ 19. *Philo Judæus*.

§ 1. Very different was the style of *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*. Born in 65 B.C. at *Venusia*, on the borders of *Apulia* and *Lucania*, he was the son of a *conductor*, a collector of taxes or auction bids, lately emancipated by some master belonging to the *gens Horatia*. Though of so humble a rank, the father was able to send his son to Rome to be educated with the sons of senators and knights under the ferule of *Orbilius Pupillus*, when he saw that the country school at *Venusia* was scarcely good enough. As usual with young Romans, *Horace* went to *Athens* to complete his education, and while there heard of the assassination of *Cæsar*. He accepted the post of tribune in the army of *Brutus*, and was present at the defeat of *Philippi*, where he left his shield behind him, like *Alcæus* of old, and returned to Italy under pardon, only to find his father dead and his estate confiscated. Thus left without friends or means, he was glad to accept the post of *questor's* clerk, and between the hours of business he vented his disgust in the *Satires*, his first literary effort. He became acquainted with

Vergil, who introduced him to Mæcenas, and though the latter was somewhat slow to show any favour to the poet, he received him at length into his innermost circle, and already, in 38 B.C., Horace was sufficiently intimate to be one of the party which travelled to Brundisium. The reason for such hesitation on Mæcenas' part was the independent character of Horace, who persisted in maintaining his own views about politics—views very unlike the enthusiasm with which Vergil regarded Augustus' rule. However, his Epicurean dogmas—for he was at heart an Epicurean, although he dabbled a little in all schools of philosophy—would not allow Horace to hold very serious views about anything but himself; and finding himself comfortable, especially when, about 31 B.C., Mæcenas gave him an estate near Tibur, he accepted the Emperor's overtures for friendship and assumed an attitude of tolerance at once honest and amusing. It was many years, however, before he published any verses laudatory of the Emperor. The loss of Vergil and Tibullus drew Horace closer to his patron, and he jestingly vowed that he could not live without Mæcenas. The vow came strangely true, for Mæcenas died in 8 B.C., and within a few weeks Horace followed him to the grave. He had never been strong, and was more or less a victim to dyspepsia. All these particulars of his life, and much more of minor importance, we gather from his own writings. Horace and Ovid are alike in sharp contrast with Vergil, and most other Roman poets, in the frequency of their allusions to their own lives and personal interests. We can reconstruct the ordinary course of Horace's days from his *Odes* and *Satires*, and similarly in some measure that of Ovid's also; of other poets at home we know virtually nothing.

§ 2. The earliest works of Horace were the *Satires*, which were published about the years 34 and 29 B.C. The two books comprise in all eighteen poems on various social and literary subjects. Horace was a humorist, and saw life through the medium of an irrepressible good-humour. Hence his *Satires* seldom rise to the dignity of anything beyond mere 'talk,' as their Latin title implies (*Sermones*); and hence the criticism of Dryden that Horace ambles

while Juvenal gallops. In the modern sense the Horatian satire is not satire at all. It consists simply of scenes from everyday life strung together with no definite plan, and made the vehicle for a good deal of good-natured and solid advice. Two of them are devoted to literary criticism, and especially to Lucilius (148-102, B.C.), for whom Horace, while fully allowing his merits, professes to entertain a cordial aversion as 'muddy' and uncouth. Lucilius was the only master of satire before Horace's time, and he used his verse to lash rather than to advise. Varro (116-28 B.C.) also wrote books of Menippean satires, a medley of prose and verse, like the later satires of Petronius. In plain fact, this style of writing had no fixity of rules. It was claimed as purely Roman by the Romans, but rather as a mode of thought than a style of composition. It always remained more prosaic than poetical until Juvenal, at the close of the first century A.D., fitted to it the full strength of the hexameter. Its name (connected with *satur*, *a, um*, full) is suggestive of the variety of its scope—life in all its manifold forms. To turn it to the criticism of literature was a purely Horatian innovation. Other subjects with which Horace deals are discontent, lax morals, pedantry, the bore (supposed by some to hint at Propertius), his own critics and detractors, a dinner with a society butt, and his journey with Mæcenas and Vergil to Brundisium.

§ 3. The *Epodes* were published about the year 30 B.C. The name was applied, at any rate in later times, to any short poem, other than elegiacs, in which long and short lines alternate. Seventeen in number, they consist mainly of personal attacks on various persons objectionable to the poet—attacks which come much nearer to the modern idea of satire than any of the *Sermones*. There are also one or two addressed to Mæcenas, and two to the Roman people. The latter of these (*Epode* xvi.) is the most pleasing of all, and clothes old poetical platitudes with a new and vigorous beauty, recalling the *Elegues*, though, as a whole, they are usually ranked below any of the *Odes*.

Of the *Odes* there are four books, three of which appeared at once about 23 B.C., while the fourth is supposed to have

been published as late as 14 B.C., and is marked by a feeling of admiration for Augustus which is not expressed in the earlier books. The various *Odes* were written at very different dates, and only slight inferences can be drawn from their inclusion in any particular book. In this branch of writing Horace claims to be unique. He took as his models, not the Alexandrines, but the earlier poets of Greece, the lyric writers Alcaeus and Sappho, who flourished in Lesbos about 600 B.C. Heretofore no Roman had trespassed on the domain of Lesbian metres and style. The metres fall in the main into stanzas, and make large use of the iambic and trochaic feet with their compounds. Two are named the Sapphic and Alcaic, after the writers who chiefly used them, and are the favourites with Horace. The subjects are various, but speaking broadly, love and wine are the main themes, while short odes to Gods and Goddesses, light exercises on social sin, and half-epistolary addresses to a host of friends, make up the remainder. Their philosophy is mostly Epicurean, a philosophy of contentment and enjoyment, the keynote of which is *carpe diem*. The fourth book differs in the tone of panegyric in which the various members of the imperial house are spoken of, and the fourth ode of this book, celebrating the successes of Tiberius and Drusus in Rhætia, is commonly considered the finest of all. With the appearance of supreme facility they carry with them the marks of hard study and restless elaboration, and no verse is harder of imitation than that of the Horatian ode.

§ 4. The only other lyric composition remaining is the *Carmen Sæculare* already mentioned.* This was written by special command of Augustus, and was sung by a choir of twenty-seven boys and as many girls in honour of Apollo and Diana. It contains many references to the reforms of Augustus, in particular to the Lex Papia Poppæa.

Two books of *Epistles* and the essay *De Arte Poetica* complete the list of his writings. The latter is sometimes reckoned as part of the second book of *Epistles*. It is a conversational address to two young Pisos, treating in a cursory and unmethodical way of a great number of literary

* P. 29.

points, particularly the appropriate subject and style for each metre, the drama, and taste in general. It is certainly not a finished poem, but is valuable as giving a poet's own views on his art. The *Epistles*, addressed to various friends, such as Mæcenas, Tibullus, and Lollius, are twenty-one in number, that to Augustus being of great length, and commonly styled simply the Second Book. It contains a great deal of valuable literary criticism, and, while professing to be an explanation of the poet's infrequent appearance at the palace, really asserts his independence. The others are merely poetical letters; but they show their author in his most natural mood, and are written with a polish and fluency that show no trace of artificiality. They are supposed to have appeared in 20 B.C.; the date of the second book is most probably 13 B.C.

§ 5. In 16 B.C. died Æmilius Macer of Verona, a poet, and a friend of Vergil. We have none of his writings, and only know that he favoured long and didactic poems in the manner of Nicander the Alexandrine. Valgius Rufus was a friend of Horace and Tibullus, a poet of some ability in epic, erotic, and grammatical subjects. He was consul in 12 B.C.

§ 6. The last and greatest master of elegiac verse was Publius Ovidius Naso, who was born at Sulmo, 43 B.C., on the very day of the battle of Mutina. His father was an *eques*, of which the poet boasts rather needlessly; and the family was sufficiently well off to provide Ovid with the means to enjoy society life in Rome. He came thither avowedly to study law, but found the subject little to his taste. His every thought would run into verse, he says; and at length he gave himself over entirely to his muse. He studied a little while at Athens, and, returning to Rome, published the *Amores* (9 B.C.), most of which are addressed to an unknown mistress whom he styles Corinna. These were followed by the *Heroides*, love-letters of the heroines of ancient mythology, such as Ariadne, Penelope, etc., and by the *Ars Amandi*, in three books. The latter poem declares itself to be a complete directory to all such looseness of living as Augustus was strenuously endeavouring to suppress. It raised so much opposition that the author thought

fit to publish two years later (A.D. 1) the *Remedia Amoris*, an ostensible recantation, which was, however, little better than the work which it professed to deery. Ovid now seems to have felt uneasy and anxious to make atonement. He devoted himself, as far as he could, to a different style of writing, and worked simultaneously at the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*. But his repentance came too late. In the middle of his new task he received orders to quit Rome at once, and retire to Tomi (*Kustendjeh*), a wretched outpost of Roman civilization, near the mouth of the Danube, on the shore of the Black Sea. He left his poems unfinished—tried even to destroy what was already written—and withdrew, 8 A.D. He lived nine years in exile, writing in this period five books of *Tristia* and four of *Epistles from Pontus*; but all his prayers for pardon were ignored, and he died at Tomi 17 A.D.

What was the actual cause of his banishment is unknown. Certainly his doctrines, directly antagonistic to those of Augustus' court poets, were a sufficient reason; but the particularly objectionable work, the *Ars Amandi*, had been published ten years when punishment overtook its author. The most probable explanation is that he was involved in the intrigues of Julia II., who was banished in the same year. All he tells us is that he 'had seen something which he ought not to have seen.' His talents were indisputably misapplied; and though in powers and finish he far surpasses his friends and fellow-poets, Tibullus and Propertius, he loses his advantage in the depravity of his subjects. His life and writings are summarized in the criticism that he was 'an incorrigibly immoral, but inexpressibly graceful, poet.'

§ 7. The *Fasti*, or Calendar, was completed only as far as the end of the sixth book. Each book contains a detailed account of the days of one month, the feasts, *dies fasti et nefasti*, and the zodiacal changes; this rather uninteresting subject being relieved by digressions on the legends connected with various holy-days, and by various passages of a panegyrical and patriotic tone, evidently written to curry favour with an offended Emperor. The book was never completed. The *Metamorphoses* consists, as

its name implies, of the legends of mythological persons changed into other forms, such as Actæon, Niobe, and a host of others. It is written in hexameters, unlike the poet's other works, and, even in its unfinished state, comprises fifteen books. The *Tristia* are elegies in the truest sense, bewailing the reverse of fortune which banished the poet, entreating pardon from the Emperor or help from influential friends, and describing the miseries of life amongst the Gætæ and Sarmatians. The *Epistles* are written in a more resigned tone, and are mainly letters to friends, such as the younger Messala (son of the patron of Tibullus) and the two poets Ponticus and Tutiænanus.

§ 8. Besides the works mentioned Ovid also wrote a tragedy, *Mædea*, highly praised by Quintilian, but now lost; *Melampodia Faciei*, a mocking treatise on cosmetics and the toilet, of which only a fragment remains; the *Halieuticon*, a description of the fishes abounding at Tomi; the *Nax Elegia*, a lament put into the person of a nut-tree; and the *Ibis*, a virulent invective against an unknown false friend, who in some way damaged the poet. The authenticity of the *Nax Elegia* is, however, doubtful; and the *Consolatio ad Lenam*, or *Epicedion Drusi*, a funeral panegyric on Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, is certainly spurious. With Ovid's works are also published three *Epistles*, which take the form of letters, replying to three of the *Heroides*. They were said to be the work of Aulus Sabinus, who wrote replies to the whole series of the *Heroides*, as well as a successful epic entitled *Trojan*. All his works are lost, however; and the three so-called *Epistulae* are now regarded as forgeries.

§ 9. Gratius was a friend of Ovid, and wrote a work on hunting (*Cynegética*), of which some considerable fragments remain. It is a didactic poem, and not more interesting than the majority of such works. Another such book is the *Astronomy* of M. Manilius. Little or nothing is known of the author, but from the style of his writing it is supposed that he was an African, and allusions in the work show that it was written during the later years of Augustus, and, in part at least, as late as 22 A.D. The work reaches to a fifth book, which is, however, incomplete. It bordered in

subject too closely upon the forbidden science of astrology to be a safe pursuit ; and hence, perhaps, its unfinished state. It contains a good deal of philosophy, all directed against the Epicurean teachings of Lucretius, and advancing the views of the Stoics.

§ 10. Last of the poets is Phædrus, the writer of Fables (*Fabulæ Æsopiar*) in four books and an appendix. They resemble their originals in being short tales in verse wherein various animals are represented as speaking and reasoning. The author was a Macedonian of Pieria, who became a slave of Augustus and was manumitted by him. He prided himself on his literary abilities, but no other writer mentions him save Martial. Apparently his fables at times contained veiled political allusions ; and at this Sejanus took offence, and (according to one account) had the poet put to death on a fictitious charge.

§ 11. The same causes which changed the character of poetry in the days of the early empire affected in a like manner the prose of the period. Latin prose-writing was always closely related to oratory, and oratory had been the centre of the education of every gentleman under the republic. To prosecute and to defy prosecution with success was the passport to politics and to the upper ranks of political society, and every young man went through a uniform course of declamation and rhetoric with a view to this. But the liberty of the law-courts was not to be tolerated by an absolute ruler. It indulged too freely in criticism, and treated with too little courtesy the chiefs of the government ; in a word, it was too personal and democratic. With the empire came the cessation of public pleading as a means to fortune, and in its place remained only scholastic declamation dealing with unpolitical subjects. The schools of rhetoric still flourished, but the subjects debated were now 'why Hannibal did not march on Rome after Cannæ,' or 'in what words Leonidas addressed the Spartans at Thermopylæ ;' and in lieu of the audiences which listened to the speeches of a Cicero, the declaimer of this period was constrained to deliver his composition in his own house or in a building which he hired for the purpose—hiring his audience, too, sometimes, perhaps. And

with prose writing it was the same. It must not deal with the present unless in a laudatory strain; there must be no regret for the old times. So it betook itself to ancient history, to science, grammatical inquiry, or to collecting anecdotes, and found a vent for its authors' rhetorical abilities in the speeches put into the mouths of a Hannibal or a Tarquinius.

§ 12. Cornelius Nepos, an intimate friend of Atticus, Cicero's companion, and of most of the eminent men of Cicero's time, belongs rather to the previous age. He lived, however, into the reign of Augustus, dying 24 B.C., at the age of fifty years. We know him from his collection of lives of eminent men (*De Viris Illustribus*), similar to those of Plutarch. The work was long believed to be a mere compilation or digest of much later date, but is now generally regarded as genuine.

Vitruvius Pollio wrote ten books on architecture and engineering. He was born about 64 B.C., and died about fifty years later (14 B.C.), being a member of Augustus' literary circle, though not particularly intimate with the Princeps. He had served in Caesar's Gallic campaigns, and only took up the pen in his later years. His book was epitomized at a very early date, and it is this epitome which survives. From it we gain almost all our knowledge of the Roman canons of architecture in temples, aqueducts, and houses, and of the military engines of the period.

Pompeius Trogus was a freedman of the great Pompeius who wrote a universal history (*Historia Philippica*) in forty-four books. It began with Nimrod and the history of Nineveh, and was continued to 9 A.D. About four centuries later it was abridged by Justinus, and we possess his abridgment, which is brief in the extreme, but exceedingly useful in some points.

§ 13. Amongst the writers on grammar and language were Verrinus Flaccus and Julius Hyginus. Both were freedmen, the latter being at one time keeper of the Palatine library. Flaccus wrote an immense dictionary (*De Vocabulorum Significatione*), of which we possess portions of an abridgment by Festus, who lived in the fourth century A.D. The abridgment alone comprised twenty books. Hyginus

was a Spaniard and an intimate friend of Ovid, the author of a large number of works, mostly on mythological subjects. A digest of his *Genealogiæ*, in four books, still remains under the title of *Fabulæ*. He also wrote, like Manilius, on astronomy.

§ 14. Of writers on history there were many, and in particular those who endeavoured to write the history of the civil wars were a numerous class. Pollio did so, and was warned by Horace that he 'trod on smothered fires.' Many still lived, and not least of them the Emperor, ready to take sharp offence at a careless epithet or a detail which had better have been suppressed. Yet Mæcenæ, and even Augustus himself, were continually importuning Vergil and Horace to essay the task in their verse; and Mæcenæ himself attempted something of the kind. The most successful of these attempts was perhaps that of Cremutius Cordus, whose forced suicide has already been mentioned; but Aufidius Bassus, a writer whom Tacitus quotes as authoritative, also completed a history of the period. Both these historians belong rather to the days of Tiberius. Strabo wrote actively during the whole of the reign of Augustus, and part of that of Tiberius. He is known to us from his geographical work in seventeen books, complete with the exception of the seventh, of which we have, however, an epitome. He was a great traveller, and was with Ælius Gallus, the general who led the Arabian expedition of 24 B.C. Besides this he wrote a history of Rome, commencing from the close of that of Polybius (146 B.C.), and continuing to the battle of Actium; of this nothing remains. His date is 54 B.C.—24 A.D.

§ 15. One historian of the time of Augustus remains to us in considerable bulk, Titus Livius Patavinus. He was of good birth, to judge from his tone and aristocratical opinions, and his birthplace, Patavium (*Padua*), was one of the most flourishing and populous towns of Italy, the capital of the Veneti in Cisalpine Gaul. The exact year of his birth is unknown, but it was probably about 59-57 B.C. It is a deplorable fact about most Latin authors, that they tell us little or nothing of themselves—a point in which, amongst writers of this period, Horace, and in a less degree

Ovid, are valuable exceptions. Livy came to Rome to be educated, and probably went through the usual course of rhetorical training; such training, at any rate, shows itself in much of his writing. He was, as an aristocrat, of course a republican at heart, but he lived apart from politics, and retained the friendship of Augustus, if to no very intimate extent. In his preface he tells us that he has two reasons for essaying the gigantic task of writing a continuous history of Rome: the first is the hope of producing some new information; the second that of forgetting the troubles of his country, meaning thereby the civil wars. He must have begun the work very soon after the battle of Actium. It was planned to reach fifteen decades, but was probably not completed. We have intact thirty books, and portions of five others, together with an epitome of the entire work, as far as the one hundred and forty-second book. The remaining eight were probably never written. The first book contains the history of Rome's foundation, and of the monarchy, and the work then proceeds continuously. It is the best model of Latin historical narrative which we possess, and its vivid style, approaching the poetical, gives it an interest which few such works can boast. He was not, however, a critic; and such material as he had he used more with an eye to effect than probability. He made large use of earlier writers, from Fabius Pictor and Alimentus downwards, but he paid little attention to archaeological evidence, and, like his predecessors, relied largely on legendary sources. This is peculiarly the case with the earlier part of his work, for there was probably no monumental evidence for events in Rome prior to the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C. For the subsequent years he utilized the archives of pontiffs and censors, ancient laws and inscriptions, and the State *Fasti*, or yearly record of magistrates and important events. Livy died in the same year as did Ovid, 17 A.D., full of years and honour; for we read that a Spaniard came all the way to Rome to see him, and, having seen him, went home again at once.

§ 16. For many years after the death of Livy, historical writing was reduced to mere 'court scandal.' It is usual to call Velleius Paterculus a writer of such matter; but he is

scarcely sufficiently read to win a fair judgment. He was born about 18 B.C., and he served eight years under Tiberius in Germany and elsewhere, being rewarded for his services by the praetorship in 14 A.D. He admired his general as a soldier should, and in consequence his book betrays much flattery. Nevertheless he is valuable as the sole witness, amongst Roman writers, to the better side of Tiberius' character. His work was an abridgment of Roman history in two books, much too brief to be of value until the period of Tiberius' wars. It then becomes fuller and more interesting. He seems to have studied his subject with care, and to have drawn largely from good writers who preceded him. He had intended to write a history of Tiberius, but was prevented by his death, which occurred in the year 31 A.D., when he fell amongst the partisans of Sejanus, with what justice we do not know.

§ 17. Valerius Maximus is supposed to have written during the reign of Tiberius. His work was the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, a collection of anecdotes extending to nine books, and intended to furnish declaimers with a dictionary of subjects and parallels. It was abridged by one Julius Paris in the fourth century, who added a tenth book, and later writers repeated the process, until nothing but the very barest facts remain.

Equally unknown in personal life is A. Cornelius Celsus, a scientist in the widest sense of the term, who wrote on rhetoric, law, farming, military tactics, and medicine. The latter treatise survives, and is still to some extent a standard work, particularly in the parts which treat of surgery. L. Junius Columella may have written under Tiberius, as he was born probably about the year 1 A.D. He was a native of Gades in Spain, and wrote ten books on agriculture. He was an ardent admirer of Vergil, in so much that his tenth book was written in verse to imitate the *Georgics*.

§ 18. There remains one other Latin author whom we need mention—L. Annaeus Seneca of Corduba. His father, Annaeus, was born 54 B.C., and outlived Tiberius, practising as a professor of rhetoric in Rome, and writing *Controversiae*, imaginary law cases, and *Suasoriae*, declamations on trifling subjects, so called from their having no purpose but to

persuade for the moment, no matter what the subject is—a peculiarly Greek view of the duties of the public speaker. Lucius, the younger Seneca, was born about 1 A.D., and followed his father's profession. He was also a Stoic philosopher (and it is from this that he is best known), a writer of tragedies, and the author of the famous satire on the apotheosis of Claudius (*Apocatastasis*). His writings, however, belong to a later period than the reign of Tiberius, and he can only claim notice here as following one of the manifold literary paths of Pollio, that of the tragedian. Horace compliments Pollio on his tragic muse; but we know that there was, during all this period, no writer of tragedy who could oust the old favourites, Accius and his fellows, from their popularity.

§ 19. Of Philo Judæus, the philosopher and theologian of Alexandria, we know little, except the fact that he conducted an embassy to Rome in the time of the Emperor Caligula, 40 A.D., to secure for the Jews exemption from the mad Princeps' edict that all the world should worship him. He was an old man even at that date, so that he must have been in full manhood during the reign of Tiberius. He has left us a work in which he endeavours to reconcile Judaism and the law of Moses with the mythology of Greece. His is the last name we need mention. For whatever cause, the reign of Tiberius yielded but a poor harvest of genius. It is usual to attribute the fact to the Emperor's tyranny; but though he did not patronize literature as his predecessor had done, he did not persecute it; and something must be accredited to the indisputable fact that a reaction always follows periods of exceptional brilliancy, and in this case the reaction had long since set in when Augustus died.

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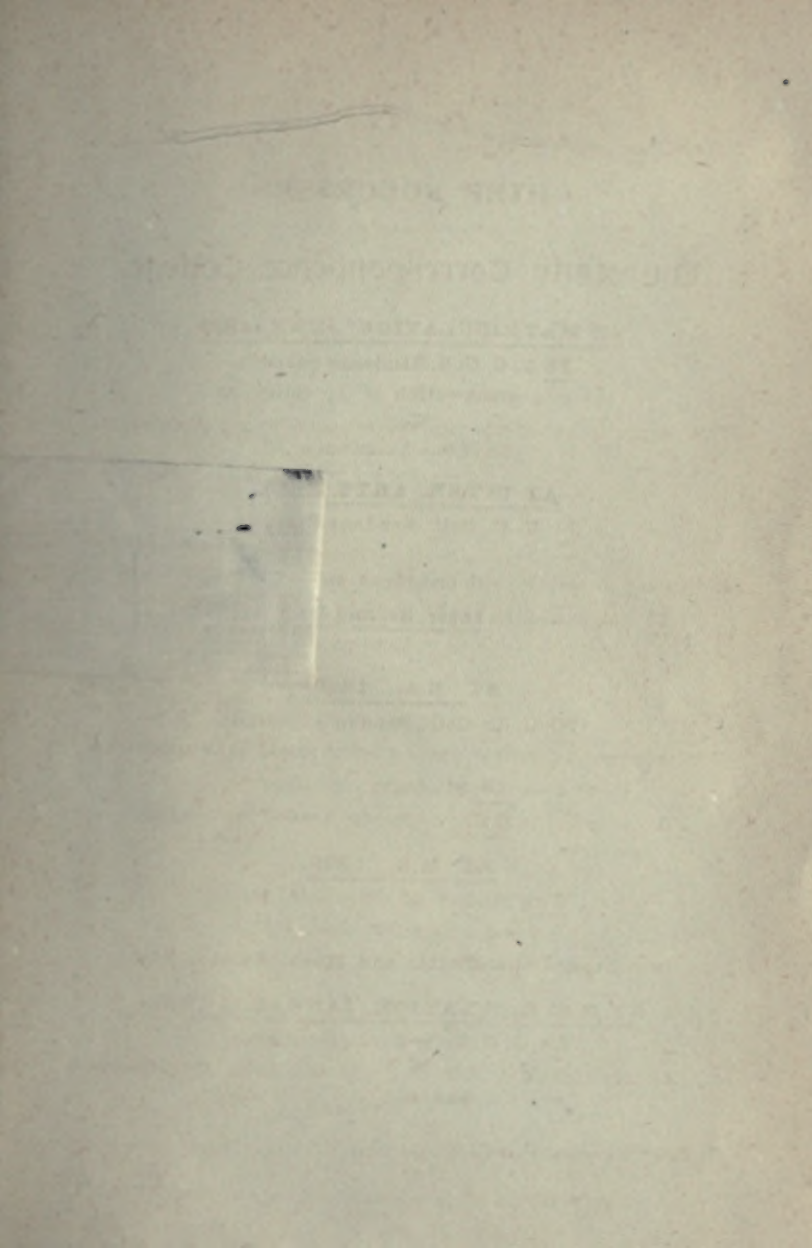
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